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THE RECENT ELECTION.

BY THE HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM
KENTUCKY.

WHEN the present House of Representatives assembled in December last, the Republicans had a majority of seven, including the five members from the recently-admitted States, but when it adjourned, although there had been no new elections by the people, the majority had increased to twenty-four. A majority of seven only in a body consisting of three hundred and thirty members, representing widely-separated and diverse local interests, was not sufficiently reliable to enable the party leaders to inaugurate with confidence the radical and extravagant policy which they had determined to adopt, and therefore nine Democratic members, who had been lawfully elected by the people of their respective districts, were ejected from their seats, and in eight of the cases Republicans were put in their places. In the other case the contestant was dead and the seat was declared vacant. These nine ejected members returned to their constituents, and all of them except one became candidates for reelection. Of the eight who became candidates seven have been returned to the next House by decisive majorities, and in the district where the ejected member did not run a Democrat has been elected to succeed him. This is the result of the appeal to the people from the partisan judgments of

the House of Representatives ; and it is no exaggeration to say that it is a full and complete vindication of the course pursued by the Democrats in resisting by every means in their power the perpetration of these outrages upon the right of representation.

The returns of the recent election, so far as known at the time this paper is prepared, indicate that the Democrats will have a majority in the next House of at least one hundred and thirty over the straight Republicans and the Farmers'-Alliance members who have heretofore affiliated with the Republican party. So great a political revolution as this cannot be accounted for by the stereotyped statements that it was an "off year" and a full vote was not polled, or that local divisions and dissensions diverted the attention of the people from the public questions involved. Nor can it be satisfactorily explained from a Republican stand-point by a reference to the part taken in the contest by the Farmers' Alliance in a few of the Northern States, because that organization is itself a protest against the principles and measures of the dominant and responsible party, and if this part of the opposition had not taken that form, it would have taken some other equally or more effective. The Republicans who have joined the Alliance in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and elsewhere, are simply pursuing the usual course of men who have determined to abandon their old political associates, but have not yet fully determined to unite with their old political opponents. They are on the direct road to the Democratic fold, and they cannot retrace their steps without a complete abandonment of every position they have taken on public questions.

There has scarcely, if ever, been a Congressional campaign in this country in which purely local questions were so little discussed, or in which local party or personal dissensions had so little influence, as in the one just closed. It is true that members of the same political party have been divided, but they have been divided on general, not local, questions. In every part of the country the tariff, the proposed Federal Election Law, subsidies to steamship companies, bounties to the manufacturers of sugar, extravagant appropriations of the public money, partisan decisions in contested-election cases, the arbitrary proceedings of the majority in the House of Representatives, and the general radical and revolutionary policy inaugurated by the Republican party as soon as it found itself in complete control of the government, have

been discussed with unusual earnestness and ability, and the arguments on both sides have been listened to with unusual patience and attention. As soon as the extraordinary course of the present Congress was entered upon, it attracted the anxious attention of the people, and they watched it and studied it in all its aspects with the most intense interest. It was the most dramatic and exciting session held since the war, except, perhaps, the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, which decided the Presidential election of 1876. It dealt to a great extent with large questions which affected many of the most important interests in the country, and, in one branch at least, it disposed of them in the most summary and imperious manner, devoting, in many instances, but a few hours to the consideration of subjects which ought to have received a most patient and thorough investigation before final action.

Such proceedings cannot pass unnoticed in a country like this, and it is not surprising that when the recent campaign opened the masses of the people were much more familiar than is usually the case not only with the merits of the different measures passed by Congress, but with the manner in which they had been passed. As a general rule, the voter of average intelligence had already formed a very positive opinion upon all the questions at issue, and no appeals to party allegiance or personal friendship could change him. The just expectations of the country had been sorely disappointed, and the wavering and doubtful voter had substantially disappeared. With perhaps a very few exceptions, the use of money for the purpose of corruption had little or no influence upon the result, and it may therefore be properly accepted as the deliberate judgment of a large majority of the people upon the questions submitted to them.

Whatever may have been the secret purposes of the political leaders and of the classes who are pecuniarily benefited by the so-called protective system, the people of all parties generally understood during the campaign of 1888 that, no matter which candidate might be successful, the tariff was to be so revised as to insure greater industrial and commercial freedom; and that there was to be an actual and material reduction of taxation, and not a mere diversion of the revenue from the public treasury to the pockets of private individuals and corporations. The contention of the Republican party was that this revision and reduction should

be made by the friends of the protective system, and not by its enemies ; but, so far as now remembered, no conspicuous member of that party was so bold or so indiscreet as to advocate even the slightest increase of taxation upon any of the necessities of life. If such a purpose had been avowed, or if the people had understood that it was seriously entertained, the result of the election in 1888 would have been as disastrous to the Republican party as has been that in 1890.

For a great many years the burden of taxation has been far greater than the necessities of the government required, and men of all parties who had no selfish interests to subserve at the expense of their fellow-citizens have recognized the fact and looked hopefully to one or the other political party to give them relief. For thirty years the Democratic party has not had full possession of the law-making power, and therefore could give no relief except in such form and to such extent as a Republican Senate or a Republican President would approve. It made an honest effort to reduce taxation in 1888, and passed a bill through the House for that purpose, but it was defeated in the Senate ; and, by way of apology, the country was told that the Democratic party was an obstacle in the way of reform, and should be removed. It was removed entirely for the time being by the election of a Republican President and House of Representatives, and the result is that the country has fastened upon it, perhaps for many years to come, the most illiberal and barbarous commercial policy that exists in the civilized world, and that a large part of the future earnings of the people is dedicated by law to the establishment of new speculative enterprises and to the further support of old industries which their forced contributions have heretofore maintained. The voters of the country have condemned this new departure made by the Republican party in violation of its own pledges, as popularly interpreted, and they will demand, not merely that this extreme policy shall be pursued no further, but that a genuine and substantial reform of our tax laws and commercial regulations shall be effected at the earliest possible day. If the Senate defies the popular will and refuses to coöperate with the representatives chosen directly by the people, then the political complexion of that body will be changed as rapidly as the Constitution and laws will permit.

The force and significance of this popular rebuke cannot be

weakened by the claim set up since the election that the Tariff Act has been misrepresented and its injurious effect upon the people exaggerated by the arguments of its opponents and by the action of merchants and others in taking immediate advantage of the prospective increase in prices. The purpose of the law, even if it had not been avowed by its authors and supporters, is perfectly plain, and its effect upon the cost of living and upon the markets in which our principal surplus products are sold can be foreseen with almost absolute certainty. The act was condemned by the people because they fully understood it, and not because they were deceived in regard to it. The great mass of producers in this country are in no way benefited by a tariff, and they do not believe they ought to be taxed merely for the purpose of starting some new private enterprise, or for the purpose of increasing the profits of old ones ; nor do they think it wise or just to cut their products off from the great markets of the world in order to give somebody else exclusive control of their markets at home.

But the tariff schedules were only parts of the scheme to tax the whole people for the benefit of a few. Public money, raised by taxation, is to be gratuitously distributed in the form of bounties and subsidies to the manufacturers of domestic sugar and to the individuals and corporations owning steamships engaged in the foreign trade, while the people who are engaged in other pursuits, equally useful and meritorious, are to struggle on as best they can, without aid of any kind from the government. To say nothing of the injustice of the proceeding, to impose taxes for the purpose of restricting foreign trade, and at the same time to impose taxes for the purpose of paying subsidies to encourage foreign trade, involves such a palpable inconsistency that the popular mind at once refused to accept it as evidence of enlightened or honest statesmanship. To abolish protective duties on sugar, upon the distinct ground that after a thorough trial they had wholly failed to develop the industry in this country, and at the same time to impose taxes for the purpose of paying bounties to the manufacturers of that article, upon the ground that protection will develop the industry to the full extent of the domestic demand, was another inconsistency which plain people could not account for without impeaching either the judgment or the motives of the majority in Congress.

These gross abuses of the power of taxation very naturally alarmed the country, for the most careless observer of the tendencies of the Republican party could easily see that, if such measures should be sustained, the selfish demands of the favored classes upon the treasury and the people would be limited hereafter only by their own estimate of the public capacity to comply with them. If the result of an election in this country means anything, if the people by their votes actually pronounce judgment upon the public questions submitted to them, the result of the recent one is undoubtedly an emphatic and conclusive condemnation of the late Tariff Act and its kindred measures granting bounties and subsidies to private enterprises.

The proposed Federal Election Law was another measure which the people did not expect and for which the country was not prepared. There was nothing in the situation to justify it, and it was properly regarded as a purely partisan attempt to perpetuate the power of the Republican party at the expense of the peace and prosperity of a large and rapidly-developing section of the Union. There was from the first a strong public sentiment opposed, for political reasons, to the re-agitation of sectional questions in any form, and there was a still stronger feeling of opposition among business men of all parties to any form of agitation that would interfere with the industrial and commercial progress of the South. The Force Bill was better calculated than any other measure that could have been devised to demoralize labor and destroy the value of investments in that part of the country; and this, in fact, would be about the only practical effect of its passage, because no statute can permanently control the political action of the people in this country. As long as political parties are divided upon the present issues, the South will be Democratic, no matter what repressive laws may be enacted or how arbitrarily they may be executed.

But while the politics of the South cannot be changed by law, its business may be ruined by the agitations and disturbances which would almost certainly result from the enforcement of such a statute as the one proposed. Under its provisions the duties of the State and Federal officials are so intermingled and confounded that disagreements and conflicts of authority must inevitably occur, no matter how honestly and

fairly each set of officials may endeavor to conduct the election ; and this would be the case in the North as well as in the South, but the situation would be greatly aggravated in the latter section by the fact that a large part of the United States officials would necessarily be ignorant and inexperienced negroes, without any qualifications whatever for their positions except their politics, for two of the three supervisors at each precinct must be Republicans if the law is to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended. It is evident that the country does not want such a law, and the Senate will probably allow it to die on the calendar and be buried with other rubbish at the end of the session.

There has never been in our history a more extravagant Congress than the present one. It is doubtful whether its prodigality in the expenditure of the public money has ever been equalled by any body of legislators, except the itinerant statesmen who infested some of the capitals in the Southern States during the period of reconstruction. For a while appropriations were made upon a scale and for purposes which indicated that in the opinion of the majority the treasury was inexhaustible and the capacity of the people to bear the burdens of taxation illimitable ; but toward the close of the session, as the time for the election was approaching, a few of the leaders became alarmed at the magnitude of the sums already disposed of, and some effort was made to check the tide of extravagance. It was too late, however, and the party was compelled to go before the country with a record showing that it had appropriated for the expenses of a single fiscal year more than \$425,500,000, and with the public admission that at least \$46,500,000 more would have to be appropriated for the same purpose at the next session, making in the aggregate \$472,000,000. This was attributable, to some extent, to the radical changes made in the rules of the House, by which the voice of the minority was virtually suppressed and its power to resist obnoxious measures substantially destroyed. But it was due principally to the feeling of indifference with which the Republican party has always regarded the expenditure of the public money, and to its inability to appreciate the weight of the burden which extravagant appropriations impose upon the people. Besides, large expenditures afford an excuse for heavy taxation, and therefore economy in the administration of public affairs is regarded by many Protectionists

as inconsistent with the fiscal policy of the party, and is condemned for that reason.

The rules of the present House were so framed, and the authority of the Speaker and the Committee on Rules has been so exercised, as to enable the majority in that body at any time to put an end to all opposition to its measures and pass them in any form it may choose. If the rules, unjust as they are to the minority, had been strictly adhered to in the transaction of business, there would have been at least a limited opportunity for debate and amendment, and no important measure could have been passed without something like proper consideration. But notwithstanding the unfair advantage held by the majority under this severe and unprecedented code of rules, it was not satisfied with the almost absolute power conferred upon it and upon its presiding officer. Fixed and settled rules, binding upon the majority as well as the minority, were inconsistent with the radical and revolutionary purposes of the leaders, and consequently the power to dictate what measures should be considered, when they should be considered, and how they should be considered, was, early in the session, surrendered to the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman. That committee exercised a general supervision and control over the entire business of the House, and from time to time brought in resolutions designating the bills to be considered, prescribing the time during which they might be debated, and frequently limiting the number of amendments that might be offered. The bills, when taken up, were not considered under the regular rules or standing orders of the House, or under any previously-defined system of parliamentary law, but every step in the proceedings was, in most cases, arbitrarily prescribed in the special resolution passed for the occasion. In some instances the minority was not permitted to offer a single amendment, and in no case was there allowed adequate time for debate. The most important bills, affecting large interests in all parts of the country, were rushed through the House in the midst of excitement and confusion, against the protests of the minority, and often when no quorum voted. Contested-election cases involving difficult questions of law and fact were disposed of in a few hours, and in one case the whole proceedings in the House did not occupy more than five minutes. The country looked on these proceedings with amaze-

ment and indignation, and when the extremists had succeeded in putting down all effective opposition and the boast came that the popular branch of the legislative department was no longer a deliberative body, the public patience was completely exhausted.

Of course, when many questions are before the people for consideration at the same time, it is difficult to say what effect any particular one has upon the result of their vote; but the character of the discussions during the late contest and the manifestation of public interest in the subjects presented justify the conclusion that the Tariff Act and the bounty and subsidy measures, which together constitute a single system or policy, would have defeated the Republican party if all other matters of controversy had been eliminated. Aside, however, from the merits or demerits of any particular measure, it was the general judgment of the country that the policy of the dominant party, taken as a whole, was too radical, and the spirit of its leaders in Congress too illiberal and intolerant, and that, if continued in power, it would ultimately go to such extremes as to seriously endanger the peace and prosperity of the people. It is never safe to assume that the most radical and noisy element in a political party is the strongest and ought, therefore, to be permitted to dictate its policy. Except in times of great popular excitement this element is generally the weakest, and if allowed to control in the party councils, disaster is almost sure to follow. There is a great body of conservative voters in this country about equally divided between the two political parties, but not blind followers of either, and it is they who actually hold the balance of power and decide the close contests. While neither party can afford to abandon its principles for the purpose of securing this vote, yet neither can afford to drive it away by the advocacy of harsh or extreme measures. But the loss of this vote alone by the Republican party at the recent election will not account for the overwhelming defeat it has suffered. It is evident that thousands of others who have heretofore consistently voted with that party have either determined to do so no more, or to enter at least one effective protest against its abuse of the power intrusted to it, and await future developments before deciding finally upon their permanent political connections.

J. G. CARLISLE.

VICTOR HUGO : EN VOYAGE.

BY ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

IT IS a fact not less singular than significant that the volume containing Victor Hugo's personal reminiscences of men and events should have had more than twice the sale of any other among his posthumous works. Full of interest, personal and historical, as is the many-colored record of "*Choses Vues*," its crowning interest consists in the fact that the experiences recorded in that book are the experiences of the greatest writer born in the nineteenth century : the value of his other posthumous works consists in the fact that, if no other legacy had been bequeathed by him to time, they would have sufficed to prove him the greatest poet of an age which has been glorified by the advent of Tennyson, Browning, and Leconte de Lisle. The account of his excursions among the Alps at the age of thirty-seven, which occupies less than a quarter of the volume last issued, might perhaps have been conjectured, by a careful and thoughtful student of the man and his work, to belong to the same date as the second series of letters from the Rhine ; of which, as the prefatory note informs us, it is simply the sequel.

Most readers will probably agree that the most interesting and important episode in this epistolary journal is the one which has been extracted from a letter to the artist who had the honor of receiving the previous letters from the Rhine. The six letters addressed to the wife of the writer are full to overflowing of evidence to the wonderfully swift, keen, and joyful observation of nature, the amazing quickness of notice, and the astonishing vivacity of recollection, which make it hard for a duller eye and a slower brain to follow the mere transcript of his experiences and impressions. But the story of the mountebanks at Berne, a truncated and incoherent tragedy, could have been written as it is

here written by no man that ever lived but the author of "*Notre Dame de Paris*"; and it is impossible to imagine—though he has vouchsafed no hint to that effect—that the creator of *Esmeralda* was not reminded of his creation by the sorrowful sight which he has registered for all time in that letter.

The description of Mount Pilatus at the opening of this volume would suffice to show that no such guide-book has ever been written, or ever possibly will be, as Victor Hugo might have given us if he had undertaken the task of anticipating the labors commissioned by Messrs. Murray and Baedeker. But before we come to this nobly vivid and memorable bit of landscape we meet once again with an instance of the artist's ever ready and tender sympathy with all that is beautiful and with all that is sorrowful in the nature and the surroundings of man.

No reader could fail to recognize the hand that traced the lines which follow:

"Une madone est sur l'autel [of a chapel erected on the legendary site of the slaying of Gessler]; devant cette madone est ouvert un livre où les passants peuvent enregistrer leurs noms. Le dernier voyageur entré dans la chapelle y avait écrit ces deux lignes qui m'ont plus touché que toutes les déclarations de guerre aux tyrans dont le livre est rempli: 'Je prie humblement notre sainte mère de Dieu de daigner, par son intercession, faire recouvrer un peu de vue à ma pauvre femme.' Je n'ai rien écrit sur le livre, pas même mon nom. Au-dessous de cette douce prière la page était blanche. Je l'ai laissée blanche."

To those who would compare—not in the vain and foolish hope to arrange the order of precedence or determine the rank of merit, but with the rational and scholarly desire to appreciate the special quality of each—the pictorial power of Hugo with that of such contemporaries as Tennyson and Ruskin, Browning and Carlyle, I would commend the study of such passages as the rapid sketch of the cloud on the summit of Mount Pilatus, and the yet more vivid study of the reflections in the lake of Lucerne. To me they seem to have more in common with the style of the great writer who last entered the Pantheon of England than with that of any other great man.

In the second letter, which deals with Berne and the Righi, there is nothing more striking—as there could be nothing more characteristic—than the picture of the splendid noonday landscape and the hideous idiot who was the only visible spectator of its glories. "A quoi bon cette ironie dans une solitude? Dois-je croire que le paysage était destiné à lui crétin, et l'ironie à moi passant?" But the third letter is of special and incomparable

interest. The spectacle seen by the writer when at breakfast—"reading while eating," and reading the leaf which accident laid before him of the tragi-comic bible of life—is now as immortal, though merely a record of actual fact, as though it had been a creation of the spectator's fancy; the glance, the touch, the sympathy of genius have made reality for once as real as fiction at its best. If any artist in letters could ever match or beat Jacques Callot on his own line,—I do not say that I think this possible (or impossible),—it must certainly be allowed that this master of grotesque and realistic tragedy was the painter of the terrible vagabond who is henceforward as sure of immortality as Clopin Trouillefou himself—even though Clopin be the creation of a poet, and his kinsman be only the creature of reality. But Callot, as far as I know his work, could not have drawn in any way comparable with Hugo's the beautiful and singular figure of the girl who was keeping watch beside this slumbering Caliban of the highways. I cannot venture to attempt a translation of the following lines:

"J'ai vu, sur cette place publique, une fille de seize ans, nette et jolie comme un caillou mouillé, baiser de minute en minute, avec une sorte d'admiration passionnée, les cheveux gras et les mains noires d'un affreux homme endormi qui ne sentait même pas ces douces caresses; je l'ai vue épousseter avec ses doigts roses l'habit de saltimbanque dont ses gracieuses chiquenaudes faisaient sortir de petites nuées de poussière; je l'ai vue chasser les mouches qui importunaient cet immonde dormeur, se pencher sur lui, écouter le bruit de son haleine et contempler tendrement ses bottes éculées; et maintenant je suis tout prêt à applaudir l'écrivain quelconque qui voudra faire un roman intime intitulé: *Histoire mélancolique des amours d'une colombe et d'un pourreau.*"

But the sordid and dismal little tragedy in which these singular actors played their unconscious parts in dumb show before the greatest of tragic dramatists whom the world has seen since Shakespeare is less impressive in its action than in its epilogue, when the fearful old gypsy who had betrayed her rival to the police turns round upon the biggest of the boys hooting and yelling at her, with her arm stretched out, and the voice of a screech-owl, crying, "There's your gallows." The whole grim, pathetic, grotesque, and lamentable story finds a fitting close in this quaint and ferocious touch of humor.

On the way to Aix-les-Bains Victor Hugo was apparently struck by a rather mediæval or Catholic fancy as to the hieroglyphic significance of letters—Latin letters, of course. The admirable French poet whom his countrymen seem to ignore, and

whom Archbishop Trench long since made familiar and dear to all English lovers of mediæval Latin verse at its loveliest and quaintest, might have rejoiced to exchange fancies with his more illustrious countryman as to the significance of the alphabet : the fantastic elaboration of fancy, devout and inventive, is not more characteristic of Victor Hugo than of Adam de Saint-Victor.

The short letter on Geneva is as trenchant and curt in its sarcastic expression of disgust as Swift or Carlyle could have made it ; whether just or unjust, rational or whimsical, a stranger to that city cannot judge. But I want words to say how grievously I am disappointed by this cruel and libellous description of a city where the sea and the sun would seem to have united their beauties and their forces in an attempt—I do not say a successful attempt—to rival the triumphant and incomparable charm of Venice : “Marseille est un amas de maisons sous un beau ciel, voilà tout.” Can the writer of this sentence have ever walked up and down the Cannebière ? The glory of color, the splendor of sunshine, the fantastic charm of the stalls and shops opening on the rim of the radiant water, the wonderful multiplicity of many-colored odds and ends basking and burning in the lazy but imperious light, the infinite interest and amusement excited and supplied by a stroll along that most enchanting of seaside streets, could only have been done into words by Victor Hugo ; and all he has to say of it all is this. The only explanation I can conjecture is supplied by the remark of his old friend Nodier fourteen years before : “Mon cher, vous êtes possédé par le démon Ogive.” And not a word about the island or the castle of If ! It is lamentable. However, the admirable contrast drawn between the waves of the Mediterranean and the real waves of the real sea is most happily accurate and appreciative.

“Ce n'étaient pas les larges lames de l'Océan qui vont devant elles et qui se déroulent royalement dans l'immensité ; c'étaient des houles courtes, brusques, furieuses. L'Océan est à son aise, il tourne autour du monde ; la Méditerranée est dans un vase et le vent la secoue, c'est ce qui lui donne cette vague haletante, brève et trapue. [What perfect choice of words, and what exquisite truth of eye !] Le flot se ramasse et lutte. Il a autant de colère que le flot de l'Océan et moins d'espace.”

But the transcription of extracts from this book is a temptation to be eschewed. Otherwise the whole account of the double ravine of Ollioules would have to be cited in evidence of the matchless literary power which could make the mere description of a scene unknown to the reader as enthralling in interest as the

most passionate scenes of a story or a play. Yet I suppose that to most readers there must be more interest in the record of a visit to scenes they know and love than in the record of a journey among scenes unfamiliar or undelightful to them; at all events, I must avow that the second and larger division of this book is to me yet more fascinating than the first part. The style, if I may venture an opinion, is terser, keener, more trenchant, and more vivid: the humor is riper and readier than before. Victor Hugo's dislike of what an eminent English poet of a later generation has called "the happy poplar land" may have made him unjust to the capabilities of poplars for exceptional beauty of form and vivacity of expansion under exceptionally happy circumstances; but before I could say that "I know a bank" on which they tower and glitter in such majestic freedom and variety of harmonious form as to rival any growth imaginable, I should certainly have agreed that

"le peuplier est le seul arbre qui soit bête. . . . Il y a pour mon esprit, je ne sais quel rapport intime, je ne sais quelle ineffable ressemblance entre un paysage composé de peupliers et une tragédie écrite en vers alexandrins. Le peuplier est, comme l'alexandrin, une des formes classiques de l'ennui."

At Bordeaux the writer of the famous pamphlet headed "Guerre aux Démolisseurs" was moved to utter a protest and a warning as eloquent and as earnest as anything in his two essays on the same subject which were written respectively eighteen and eleven years earlier.

"Rien de plus funeste et de plus amoindrissant que les grandes démolitions. Qui démolit sa maison, démolit sa famille; qui démolit sa ville, démolit sa patrie; qui détruit sa demeure, détruit son nom. C'est le vieux honneur qui est dans ces vieilles pierres."

The whole of this letter from Bordeaux should be studied and appreciated by all who feel—and by all who need to learn—how close and how inextricable must be the connection of all serious and serviceable hope for the future with sincere and earnest reverence for the past. This, the key-note of Mazzini's political doctrine, was the watchword of Hugo's æsthetic doctrine long before he had been gradually and naturally led to embrace the Republican faith to which, like Shakespeare's Brutus, he devoted his life and his work "only in a general honest thought, and common good to all." "Toutes ces mesures dédaignées," he continues, "sont des mesures illustres; elles parlent, elles ont une voix; elles attestent ce que vos pères ont fait."

The description of the ruined cloister could only have been matched in verse by Shelley or in prose by Ruskin; and for English readers this can hardly but suffice by way of comment or of commendation. In the next letter the journey from Bordeaux to Bayonne is rendered into words of such living simplicity and effect that we hear the sounds and smell the flowers of a summer day now dead these forty-seven years since. The tender childish recollections evoked on entering Bayonne have all the matchless and unfailing charm with which Hugo could always touch and invest, by a natural and sacred magic, the morning lights and shadows of the unforgotten and thenceforward imperishable past. But the charnel-house of St. Michael's at Bordeaux will now be forever remembered by all students of his work as the subject of a realistic and tragic poem in prose which may be ranked among the greatest and most terrible triumphs of his imaginative and descriptive genius.

"I shall never forget what I saw then. The bell-ringer, silent and motionless, was standing upright in the middle of the crypt, leaning against a post imbedded in the flooring, and with his left hand he was lifting the lamp above his head. I looked round. A misty and scattered light vaguely lit up the crypt: I made out its ogree roof.

"Suddenly, fixing my eyes on the wall, I saw that we were not alone.

"Strange figures, standing upright with their backs to the wall, surrounded us on all sides. By the light of the lamp I got a confused glimpse of them across the fog which fills low and gloomy vaults.

"Imagine a circle of terrifying faces, in the centre of which I was standing. The blackish and naked bodies were sunken and lost in the darkness; but I saw distinctly, starting out of the shadow, and leaning, as it were, somehow towards me, crowding one against another, a multitude of dismal or dreadful heads, which seemed to call on me with mouths wide open, but voiceless, and gazed on me from eyeless sockets.

"What were these figures? Statues, of course. I took the lamp from the ringer's hands and drew near. They were corpses."

The vampire mob of the Revolution had desecrated the popular cemetery of Bordeaux and the royal cemetery of Saint-Denis at the same infamous instant.

"They tore the coffins from the soil; they flung all that dust to the winds. When the pickaxe came near the foundations of the tower, they were surprised to find no more rotten biers or broken vertebræ, but complete bodies, dried and preserved by the clay which had covered them during so many years. This inspired the creation of a charnel-house museum. The idea was suitable to the period.

"The little children of Montfaucon street and the road to Bègles were playing at knuckle-down with the scattered fragments of the cemetery. They were taken out of their hands; all that could be found were collected, and these bones were installed in the lower crypt of the bell-tower of St. Michael's. They made a pile seventeen feet deep, over which a flooring with a balustrade was adjusted. They crowned the whole with the corpses—so strangely intact—which had just been un-

earthed. There were seventy of them. They were set upright against the wall in the circular space reserved between the wall and the balustrade. This flooring it was that rang under my feet; over these bone heaps I was walking; those corpses were looking at me."

But something of grimness was yet wanting to this grim show. The plump, comfortable, red-cheeked bell-ringer began to play the part of showman.

"Look at this fellow, sir; he's number one. He's got all his teeth.—See how well preserved number two is; and yet he's nearly four hundred years old.—As for number three, one would say he was alive and could hear us. No wonder; he has only been sixty years dead. He's one of the youngest inhabitants. I know people in the town who knew him."

If, as some thinkers or dreamers might venture to hope, those two great poets of the grave, John Webster and Victor Hugo, have now met in a world beyond the grave, they must surely have compared notes as to the impression left on such minds as theirs by such experiences as these.

The meditation which follows will remind all readers of one among the greatest poems of the greatest poet born in our century—"Pleurs dans la Nuit." The deep and poignant sense of the apparent horror, the seeming dreadfulness and hopelessness of death, the fierce derision and the bitter mockery of its aspect,—"cette figure désespérée et redoutable,"—are not more intensely expressed or more triumphantly subdued by the fervent contemplation of faith and the steadfast exaltation of hope in the poem which was given us thirty-four years ago than in the pages written eleven years before the date of its production and thirteen years before the date of its publication.

Two points in the letter from Biarritz were to me, on a first reading, the dominant points of interest. By far the more interesting of the two—and in all this magnificent volume there is nothing of more interest—is this:

"The second day I went to Biarritz. As I was walking at low tide in among the grotts, looking for shells and terrifying the crabs that ran off sideways and buried themselves in the sand, I heard a voice rising from behind a rock and singing the following stanza with something of a country accent, but not enough to prevent me from distinguishing the words:

"Gastibelza, l'homme à la carabine,
Chantait ainsi:
Quelqu'un a-t-il connu dona Sabine,
Quelqu'un d'ici?
Dansez, chantez, villageois, la nuit gagne
Le mont Falou.
Le vent qui vient à travers la montagne
Me rendra fou."

It was a woman's voice. I went round the rock. The singer was bathing. A handsome girl, who was swimming, clothed with a white shift and a short petticoat, in a

little creek shut in by two reefs at the opening of a grot. Her clothes—a peasant girl's—were lying on the sand at the inner end of the grot. When she saw me, she rose half out of the water and began singing her second stanza, and, seeing that I was standing motionless on the rock listening to her, she said to me, smiling, in a jargon of mixed French and Spanish :

“ Señor estrangero, does your honor know this song ? ”

“ I think so, ” I answered. “ A little. ”

That the song of songs, which is Hugo's,—the one lyric tragedy of passion which will always remain as incomparable and unapproachable as the supreme dramatic tragedy of passion, “Othello,”—should have been the poem chosen by chance for the singer to overhear after such a fashion as this seems almost too delightful—too comfortable and satisfactory—to believe. The reader may remember, though he may be unable to count or to conjecture, how often he has chanted or shouted or otherwise declaimed it to himself, on horseback at full gallop or when swimming at his best, as a boy in holiday time ; how often the matchless music, the matchless ardor, the matchless pathos of it have reduced his own ambition to a sort of rapturous and adoring despair ; and how, supposing him not to be a cur, the sense of its unequalled and unapproachable beauty has quickened his old delight in it with a new delight in the sense that he will always have this to rejoice in, to adore, and to recognize as something beyond reach of man ; that, whatever he may achieve, he can never feel himself bereft of a superior, a master, a poet beyond all thought of emulation ; that for any one born in this century who dreams of being a lyrist or a dramatist there is always Victor Hugo, living or dead, to look up to and bow down to. And that our master should have had the pleasure of this experience—he did not condescend to express his pleasure, but to me his reticence seems hardly to conceal it—must surely be pleasant for all who honor him to remember.

We will not dwell on his shrinking anticipation that Biarritz might some day possibly become fashionable and be ruined ; but the story of his fly could only have been told by Thackeray with such quiet and serious humor. There is nothing funnier in “The Irish Sketch-Book” ; and there certainly is nothing so ingenious or so rascally recorded of an Irish conductor in that kindly and delightful volume. A penny to go, ten shillings to return, make up a tariff worthy of commemoration even by such a passenger as the one who found himself swindled on this occasion ; and Sterne could not have registered the experience with more

delightful good-humor and more kindly realism. The fatality which befel everybody present at the first Bonaparte's imperial display or puppet-show would be hardly interesting at this date to any reader if he were not roused and shocked by the statement that "the captain who had given the empress his hand," to help her out of the water into which she had stumbled, was afterwards condemned to death, and shot, for having done so. If this be true, it proves—and it is hard to understand how Victor Hugo should not have seen—that France was then at least, whether she is or is not now, so far behind all other barbarous nations as to be fit for alliance with none but Russia, Dahomey, or United Ireland.

The incident of the little old Spanish wagon drawn by oxen, which reminded Hugo of his childhood, will remind all readers of his unequalled power in evoking, his incomparable tact in expressing, those early recollections and associations which so few men of genius have been able to record gracefully or worthily of themselves. Walter Scott, Alexandre Dumas, and Victor Hugo could do this; but I hardly remember another who could. From Bayonne to St. Sebastian the most amusingly memorable record set down by Victor Hugo is the anecdote of a porter, Oyarbide by name. The letter from St. Sebastian leaves the reader bewildered and compassionate at the thought of so many fruitless revolutions, in which so much noble devotion and courage and chivalry were wasted; but the shining instance of royal gratitude on the part of Don Carlos and the noble incident of loyal comradeship on the part of General Elío serve excellently well to set off each other.

The letter describing the strange, enchanted, and enchanting old town of Pasages is so delightfully full of life and light and color that no commentary can convey or can suggest a sense of its charm. The rival clamors of the boatwomen, which startled the writer from meditation on an insect and a flower; the singularly flattering disappointment of the girl whom Hugo paid for a task on which he did not employ her; the conversation with the admirer of the incomparable rope-walk (Flaubert could not have recorded it with more calm severity and precision of touch); the dazzling and many-colored prospect of a "humble corner of earth and water which would be admired if it were in Switzerland and famous if it were in Italy, and is unknown because it is in Guipuzcoa," compose an inimitable prologue to the

extraordinary scene which follows. But I shall not attempt to indicate or to select any special passages or salient points in the two letters which give an account of this wonderful town of contrasts and its almost more wonderful surroundings. Let it suffice to say that they would suffice for the fame of a great writer.

The visit after sunset to the wasted village of Leso is told in words which recall and emulate Callot's study of the ravages of war. The grim church, with its ghastly past of sainted inquisitors and its ghastly present of scoffing children, is far more terrible to read of than the devil-haunted ruin on the mountain adjoining.

Pamplona, which the poet had so grandly celebrated fifteen years earlier, inspired on this occasion the longest and one of the most interesting of his letters. The noble, pathetic, and manly meditation on the mysterious sufferings of misused animals should remind us of a passage dealing with the same sorrowful and shameful subject in a poem ("Melancholia") belonging to the third book of the "Contemplations." The brilliant and grotesque description of the strange conveyance and its stranger conductors which introduces this discourse on the duty of pity is in its way as perfect as the sublimely characteristic and fantastic sketch of sunrise, touched and colored by the dream or vision of a suggested sense in awakening nature of pain ineffable and pity inexpressible for the poor tormented and terrified and bewildered beasts of burden or of draught—"those forsaken and miserable animals who are her children as we are, and live nearer to her than we do."

The summary of Spanish eccentricities and incongruities in which the poet has condensed his impressions of the country he was revisiting—"pays unique où l'incompatible se marie à tout moment, à tout bout de champ, à tout coin de rue"—is one of the brightest and wittiest in illustration that he ever wrote. The gorge of Tolosa, on the other hand, gives occasion for some of the gravest and loftiest writing in this volume. The savage splendor of cliff and forest, the "broad sheets of live rock coming down from the highest summits, all sown with almost inexplicable great oaks"; the reapers of the size of ants "reaping their wheat in the abyss"; the hairbreadth escape of the coach with all its charge, preserved at the edge of the precipice by a decrepit old beggar with a stone kicked under the wheel; the city of Pamplona with its partially-defaced cathedral, its quaint or noble incidents of street archi-

ture, the cloister garden and the boudoir sacristy, the battle sculptured in marble on a tomb and the humble bier hard by it; the landscape transfigured by moonrise; the wrinkled and gleaming river that slid among the trees like a silver snake; the outbreak of life and music that brightens the sleepy old city from sunset to midnight; all this, and more, lives and vibrates on the written page as it might in the memory of a witness.

The little adventure recorded in the next letter is told in the illustrious traveller's lightest and brightest style of narrative; and by the help of the plan marking out the various divisions of his night's lodging we can almost see, and for that matter we can almost smell it: the sweet hay and the resinous flame, as well as "that dull sugary smell exhaled from all Spanish bothies"; the huge fireplace with its dragon-like dogs, the one window, the one bed, the "stable" with poultry and a calf in it just opposite, the "cellar," the "arsenal," the huge sloping block of granite with trusses of straw spread in front of it by way of accommodation for sleepers in the "guest-chamber," the gnome-like ape of a child, the streamlet running down a hollow bole sunk in the ground from one gap in the wall to another: a perfect and memorable picture in its grotesque and homely way.

To the letter from Caunterets the lovers of that sublimely lovely valley will naturally be tempted to turn on first opening this volume; and it will be with a shock of disappointed amazement that they will find no mention of its crowning glory. Of all great poets that ever lived, with the one possible and doubtful exception of Dante, Victor Hugo is the one who would have seemed most fit to describe and most capable of describing the lake of Gaube; and he, of all men and all tourists, was the one to turn back down the half-ascended valley, and leave it unvisited. The description of the mountain landscape before dawn is noble and lifelike, touched with earnest thought and colored by living fancy; but I for one had hoped to find some notice of the flora and fauna which combine to give this high borderland its peculiar charm of brilliant and fervent life. The fiery exuberance of flowers among which the salamanders glide like creeping flames radiant and vivid up to the very skirt of the tragic little pine wood at whose heart the fathomless little lake lies silent, with a dark dull gleam on it as of half-tarnished steel; the deliciously keen and

exquisite shock of a first plunge under its tempting and threatening surface, more icy cold in spring than the sea in winter; the ineffable and breathless purity of the clasping water in which it seems to savor of intrusive and profane daring that a swimmer should take his pleasure till warned back by fear of cramp when but halfway across the length of it, and doubtful whether his stock of warmth would hold out for a return from the far edge opposite, to which no favoring magic can be expected to transport the clothes left behind him on the bank off which he dived; the sport of catching and taming a salamander till it became the pleasantest as well as the quaintest of dumb four-footed friends; the beauty of its purple-black coat of scaled armor inlaid with patches of dead-leaf gold, its shining eyes and its flashing tongue,—these things, of which a humbler hand could write at greater length than this, would require such a hand as Hugo's to do them any part of justice.

The account of Gavarnie, "nature's Colosseum," may be matched against any of this great artist's studies for terse and vigorous precision of imaginative outline. The brief notice of Luz gives a last touch of brightness to a book which then closes in gloom as deep as death. In the isle of Oléron, a ghastly and hardly-accessible wilderness of salt marshes, with interludes of sterile meadow and unprofitable vineyard, manured with seaweed and yielding an oily and bitter wine; with foul gray fog rising in heavy reek from the marshlands, a shore of mud, a desolate horizon, a lean and fever-stricken population, a prison for some hundreds of military convicts; a heaviness like death, he tells us, fell upon the visitor.

"Not a sound to seaward, not a sail, not a bird. At the bottom of the sky, to westward, appeared a huge round moon which seemed in those livid mists the reddened imprint of the moon with its gilding rubbed off. . . . Perhaps on another day, at another hour, I should have had another impression. But for me that evening everything was funereal and melancholy. It seemed to me that this island was a great coffin lying in the sea, and this moon the torch to light it."

Next day the writer of these words came by chance on the tidings—in a newspaper taken up in a coffee-house—that just five days earlier his eldest daughter and her six-months' husband had been drowned in a boating excursion on the Seine.

It was not till three years later that the first was written of those matchless poems of mourning which keep fresh forever the record of his crowning sorrow.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

PARTISANSHIP AND THE CENSUS.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE
ELEVENTH CENSUS.

IN ACCEPTING the invitation of the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to write an article on the census, it was my original intention to make the paper entirely statistical. The general and current interest just now exhibited in the census is sufficient reason for considering the subject from a different stand-point. An off year in politics and the dull season following the adjournment of Congress have been somewhat enlivened by the frenzical attacks on the Eleventh Census. The batteries of some of our leading journals have poured forth broadside after broadside of invective upon those responsible for the work. In fact, the leaders of this wild crusade have resorted to every ingenious partisan trick to work up public sentiment against the census, and apparently for no cause save the fact that the population of the country did not reach the expected total and the count in two or three large cities was disappointing. The varied resources of sensational journalism have been strained during the last two months in the discovery of new plots, in the unearthing of deep-laid conspiracies, and in the patching together of some hideous monstrosity to alarm the people and stir up partisan prejudice against the results of the census.

This decennial census epidemic—for it usually follows an enumeration of the people—first appeared in St. Paul and Minneapolis, and had its origin in the bitter rivalry between these two ambitious cities. It assumed State proportions in Oregon after the official returns from the neighboring State of Washington had been made public. Checked by the exposure by the Census Office of the frauds and padding in the twin cities of the Northwest, the refusal of a recount for Oregon, and the demonstration of the substantial accuracy of the counts in a score of important cities, North and

South, it finally broke out with redoubled partisan fury in New York city. The official count of the population of the metropolis as it now stands was made public by the Census Office on July 17, and yet no complaint was made until September, when the Board of Aldermen passed resolutions declaring the census of June "inadequate" and demanding a recount, but offering no proof whatever of the omission of names.

The value of the census as an issue in the pending municipal campaign was at once recognized by politicians, and the mayor ordered an October census, designating the police as enumerators. In a city like New York a census taken in October would naturally show an increase over a census taken in June of the same year. The later period would have the advantage of including thousands of families, with their domestic help, who are absent in the summer. The difference in the hotel population alone would also favor the October count. In the lower quarters of the city thousands of wage-earners annually seek employment in the country, on the lakes and rivers, in brickyards, and as waiters or other help in the large hotels at mountain and seaside resorts, where New-Yorkers literally swarm during the summer months. Nor is this the only advantage. June, July, August, and September are heavy immigration months, and it is a demonstrable fact that in some districts of the city the increase found by the police in October is largely traceable to this influx of immigrants remaining in New York. During these months at least 125,000 immigrants arrived at this port.

At the time of the June enumeration the current of public opinion in this particular was running against the Federal enumerators, as the very journals now bitterly complaining of omissions were declaring the questions required by the Census Act inquisitorial, and urging citizens to refuse to answer them. The police, on the other hand, were hampered by no disagreeable questions relating to mortgage indebtedness or physical disability, handicapped by no instructions except a general desire on the part of those directing the work to secure all the names possible, and backed by the newspaper press. That they should be able to obtain a more formidable list of names is no more a matter of surprise to those who know anything about census methods than is the fact that the honorable mayor of New York finally refused to submit that list to the Federal authorities for comparison and

verification. A list of names thus taken is utterly worthless as a census, but would be of value in checking the June enumeration. As the case now stands, there is no more reason to believe that the alleged difference, after taking into consideration the conditions under which the two enumerations were made, is due to the omissions of June than to the additions and duplications of October. The presumption, however, is strongly in favor of the Federal census, for that is a matter of permanent public record ; but the mayor has thus far failed to turn his schedules over to the proper authorities at Washington for examination.

While the dissatisfaction with the total population of New York city has been "worked for all it is worth" for political purposes, the fact that the population of the country, all told, is not likely to reach quite 63,000,000 is also being used to give importance to the groundless and absurd cry of a partisan census. The editor of one leading New York paper actually argues that, because the country increased 59.51 per cent. in twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, therefore the country should increase one-half as much, or 29.75 per cent., in ten years, from 1880 to 1890, and then, because the actual rate of increase according to the census does not reach this figure, proceeds to demonstrate that it is a "partisan census." A very elementary knowledge of arithmetic only is necessary to show that the percentage of increase of a country in ten years is not one-half the percentage of increase for twenty years, but something very different ; so that if the able editor of this somewhat pretentious Mugwump journal had properly made his comparison, he would have seen that the percentage of increase for ten years as based upon the increase of the country from 1860 to 1880 was 26.03 per cent., with which the actual increase from 1880 to 1890—24.57 per cent.—compares very favorably.

No fair-minded man who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the organization known as the Census Bureau could possibly be brought to believe the charge of a "partisan census," for the simple reason that a partisan census is an impossibility—unless it be possible to corrupt an army of nearly 50,000 enumerators, who have been marshalled and commanded and supervised by scientific men and experts of all political parties, and whose returns have been handled, computed, tabulated, and worked into results by men and women

representing all shades of political opinion. The only partisanship about the census has been the partisan attacks upon it, and those have been largely based on ignorance or indifference in respect of facts. Precisely the same thing, however, occurred in 1880. No sooner were results declared than partisan newspapers poured forth volley upon volley of vituperation against the Census Office because of alleged frauds in the Southern States. At that time the following table of percentages of growth formed the specific target for party malice, prejudice, and ignorance, supported, as at present, by a vigorous and somewhat inharmonious chorus of disappointed municipalities with police censuses and demands for recounts :

States.	Per cent. of increase.	
	1860 to 1870.	1870 to 1880.
Virginia.....	a 4.4	23.4
North Carolina.....	7.9	30.6
South Carolina.....	0.2	41.0
Georgia.....	11.9	30.2
Alabama.....	3.4	26.6
Mississippi.....	4.6	36.6
Louisiana.....	2.6	29.3
Kentucky.....	14.3	24.8
Tennessee.....	13.4	22.5

a Of Virginia and West Virginia together.

It was widely charged that nothing short of an infamous and deeply-laid plot could have produced such a sudden and extraordinary change as the above. Accustomed to surprises as statisticians are, General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of both the Ninth and Tenth Censuses, was not satisfied with the results, and an investigation was ordered and a recount made in the State of South Carolina, where the increase had been most astonishing. This inquiry established the accuracy of the Tenth Census to the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, but for long after that we heard the cry of a padded census in the Southern States. These charges were vigorously combated by Superintendent Walker, who said in one of his reports :

"The entire ground for impeaching the integrity of the recent census was found in the reported gain of population between 1870 and 1880. The results of the investigation hereinbefore detailed place, beyond possible question by any fair-minded man, the entire fault upon the census of 1870."

The fact was demonstrated that, under the census law which intrusted the United States marshals with taking the census, the census of 1870 was grossly deficient in the Southern States. A study of these facts at once disposed of the wild and partisan charge upon the ten thousand officers employed in the service throughout the Southern States that they were engaged in the

perpetration of "a monstrous political crime" through "a gigantic conspiracy to falsify the census."

What was true in 1880 applies with equal force in 1890. The law under which the Eleventh Census was taken is practically the same as that under which General Walker took the Tenth Census. A few questions, such as those relating to the veterans of the war, to mortgage indebtedness, and to the separation of negroes into black, mulatto, quadroon, and octoroon, were added by Congress. As far as possible, the organization of the Census Office is the same. In no case have chiefs or experts been selected because of their political faith, but in every case in consequence of statistical training, special knowledge, or service in the Tenth Census. The Census Office is divided into twenty-five important divisions. Sixteen of these divisions are in charge of men chosen in 1880 for the same work by my predecessor, General Walker. There are among them Democrats, Republicans, Mugwumps, Free-Traders, and Protectionists. The population division is in charge of a statistician who received his training from Colonel Carroll D. Wright, and was recommended to me by that gentleman as the best-equipped man for the place in the country, and the man he would have selected if Superintendent of Census. The remaining divisions—those of church statistics; wealth, debt, and taxation; national and State finance; farms, homes, and mortgages; agriculture; mines and mining; statistics of Indians; and supervisors' correspondence—are in charge of eminent and capable experts, with national and foreign reputations in their several lines of statistical work. Besides those having charge of divisions, there are from twenty to thirty expert special agents making special investigations, three-fourths of whom were employed in the Tenth Census, and not one of whom was appointed for political reasons. To invalidate the Eleventh Census, therefore, is to attack the integrity of nearly every man who took part in the Tenth Census. To question the fitness of the appointments is to discount the judgment of the first census expert in the United States, perhaps in the world, General Walker, for he has pronounced them as a whole "almost perfect."

With every avenue through which "monstrous political crime" and "vile conspiracy" could stalk guarded by men whose characters are unquestioned, whose integrity cannot be impeached, whose ability is known, and whose standing is recognized in scien-

tific and statistical circles throughout the country, how is it possible to falsify the census for political purposes? By the aid of the supervisors? Let us see. The supervisors were appointed, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, by the President of the United States. Their claims, however, were in every case carefully examined by the department. Those gentlemen were not selected from one political party. In many States their appointments were not regarded by the honorable Secretary as political, and on the credentials of not a few of those in the Southern States may be found the names of some of the most powerful of Democratic Senators and Representatives, testifying to their qualifications. In the selection of enumerators the office had to depend largely upon the judgment of the supervisors, though all applications were examined impartially at the Census Office, alike by Democratic and Republican experts, and in no instance was an appointment refused to a competent man for political reasons. Complaints came in from local leaders that Democratic enumerators were being appointed throughout the South. The answer was, Are they competent?—incompetency alone being cause for removal.

The office force in Washington has been made up in precisely the same way, and ability to do the work has been the only test. All applicants for minor clerkships have been compelled to pass a more thorough examination than that required for the same grade by the Civil-Service Commission, and without such examination only those who have passed the full clerkship examination of the commission have been accepted by the Census Office. Among those recommending these bright and efficient young men and women may be found the names of the most prominent and influential Democrats in the United States, most of them, no doubt, glad and proud to help worthy and capable applicants from their districts to secure employment. The charge that there was any politics in a majority of these appointments I deny, and in this denial I will be sustained by the Secretary of the Interior, who makes them, and by honest Senators and Representatives of both political parties. The census clerks thus appointed and trained by the fully-equipped corps of chiefs and assistants who did effective service in the Tenth Census cannot be excelled by any similar number of clerks in any other department of the government. How the Democrats would have used this vast Federal patronage

I know not ; but I do know, and can fearlessly state, that it is my belief that the great masses of Republicans would never consent to let the Census Office be converted into a political machine, and, acting in that belief, the work in every branch is open to the closest inspection.

The charges, therefore, of partisanship in the management of the Census Office cannot for a moment be sustained, while the results already published, when analyzed, as effectively stamp out the false allegations of a partisan census as would the production of the alleged "corpse" in good health by the defence in a trial for murder.

Attention is invited to the following table showing the numerical increase in the population of the United States in each decade from 1790, together with the percentage of increase :

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Per cent. of increase.
(1790)	(1800)		
3,929,214	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.10
(1800)	(1810)		
5,308,483	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.38
(1810)	(1820)		
7,239,881	9,633,822	2,393,941	33.07
(1820)	(1830)		
9,633,822	12,866,020	3,232,198	33.55
(1830)	(1840)		
12,866,020	17,069,453	4,203,433	32.67
(1840)	(1850)		
17,069,453	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.87
(1850)	(1860)		
23,191,876	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.58
(1860)	(1870)		
31,443,321	38,558,371	7,115,050	22.63
(1870)	(1880)		
38,558,371	50,155,783	11,597,412	30.08
(1880)	(1890)		
50,155,783	62,480,540	12,324,757	24.57

A glance at the foregoing table shows that the numerical increase of the population in decennial periods has steadily increased, the greatest increase being for the last decade. To the variations in the percentage of increase the attacks are therefore directed. Thus one angry editor in Massachusetts exclaims : " The total given in this census is so absurd that criticism stands amazed at the idiotic exhibition." Another paper says editorially : " Granting the census of 1870 was grossly defective in the Southern States, this theory does not explain away the 35.5 per cent. rate of increase made

between 1850 and 1860 ; and the 35.8 per cent. made in 1840-1850 ; and the 32.6 per cent. made in 1830-1840 ; and the 33.5 per cent. made in 1820-1830 ; and so on."

The Census Office does not deal in theories, and has no theory to offer in explanation of the stubborn facts which a careful enumeration of the people brings to light. The inaccuracy of the Ninth Census in the Southern States has been demonstrated by extensive investigation and publicly admitted by the officer who took it. Moreover, the evidence of those omissions has been accepted as the reason for the apparently-abnormal growth in the States referred to above between 1870 and 1880, and it must be accepted as the reason for the normal and satisfactory growth which the Eleventh Census shows to have taken place in these same States between 1880 and 1890. What is capable of absolute proof must be accepted. The idea that, if the percentage of increase in the population of a State or nation shows a falling-off, such falling-off is an indication of incomplete enumeration is fallacious and, if carried to excess, grotesque. Nothing, in short, could be further from scientific truth. Unless the gain in a State or country is abnormally large, a decrease in the percentage of increase will always be manifest. To show that there are other census results which have been accepted as substantially correct, but which display greater vagaries than do the United States census returns, the following table has been prepared :

POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS—1765 TO 1885.

Census periods.	Years comprehended in each period.	Percentage of increase in period.	Percentage of increase for United States.
1765-1775.....	11	23.88	
1776-1790.....	14	28.37	
1790-1800.....	10	11.63	35.10
1800-1810.....	10	11.63	36.38
1810-1820.....	10	10.85	33.07
1820-1830.....	10	16.64	33.55
1830-1840.....	10	20.85	32.67
1840-1850.....	10	34.81	35.87
1850-1860.....	10	23.79	35.58
1855-1865.....	10	11.89	(1860-70) 22.63
1865-1875.....	10	30.38	(1870-80) 30.08
1875-1885.....	10	17.57	(1880-90) 24.57

In his analysis of the population returns for 1885 Colonel Wright, Commissioner of Labor, who was in charge of the census, said :

"The gain, therefore, in the last decade (1875-1885) is 290,229, or 17.57 per cent. From 1865 to 1875 the State gained 384,881, or 30.38 per cent., a much larger gain than during the decade from 1875 to 1885. *As the State grows older the percentage of gain from decade to decade will decrease.*"

If we proceed upon the assumption that the State, having shown

a gain of 30.38 per cent. from 1865 to 1875, should show the same gain from 1875 to 1885, we should have had a population in Massachusetts of 2,153,762 in 1885, instead of 1,942,141, as enumerated. On the same basis the population in 1890 should be 2,480,918, instead of 2,233,407, as enumerated. The gain from 1885 to 1890 (five years) was 291,266, or very nearly 15 per cent. Who can explain why the State gained 15 per cent. in five years (1885-1890) and only 17.57 per cent. in ten years (1875-1885)? Who can explain a variation of 23.96 per cent. between the increase from 1810 to 1820 (10.85 per cent.) and that from 1840 to 1850 (34.81 per cent.)?

The widest variation in these United States figures is but 13.75 per cent., being between 36.38 per cent. (1800-1810) and 22.63 per cent. (1860-1870). Why should certain variations in percentages in the United States figures be taken as presumptive evidence of fraud or incomplete enumeration, when larger variations in the Massachusetts figures have never been assailed by the same critics?

The fact is as stated: unless the growth is abnormal, the percentage of increase in population grows smaller as the country grows larger, for the numerical increase becomes a percentage of a constantly-increasing number. To argue against this is to argue against all the past experience of nations. It is not likely that the percentage of increase of population in this country will ever again be lifted to a height that will satisfy the boundless enthusiasm of those who calmly denounce a gain of nearly twelve millions and a half in ten years as an "idiotic exhibition."

It has been shown already that the astonishing increase in the population of certain Southern States in 1880 led to an investigation, and finally to the conclusion that there were serious defects in the Ninth Census in those States. If the census of 1880 had exhibited the same percentage of increase in these States as shown in the Eleventh Census, our Southern friends would have been well satisfied with the progress of their respective States. As it was, however, they were as much astonished at the facts shown in 1880 as were the people of the North. The increase of the percentage of increase in South Carolina from $\frac{3}{10}$ of 1 per cent. in 1870 to 41.1 per cent. in 1880 was pronounced by the critics of 1880 "partisan fraud." But the facts stood, and they are verified by the count of 1890, as will be seen in the following

table showing the rates of increase during the last three decades in these States, and illustrating the imperfections of the census of 1870 in a somewhat startling manner :

States.	Per cent. of increase,		
	1860 to 1870.	1870 to 1880.	1880 to 1890.
Virginia.....	<i>a</i> 4.4	23.4	9.0
North Carolina.....	7.9	30.6	15.5
South Carolina.....	0.2	41.0	15.2
Georgia.....	11.9	30.2	18.9
Alabama.....	3.4	26.6	19.4
Mississippi.....	4.6	36.6	13.5
Louisiana.....	2.6	29.3	18.8
Kentucky.....	14.3	24.8	12.5
Tennessee.....	13.4	22.5	14.4
<i>a</i> Of Virginia and West Virginia together.			

Taking what is popularly called the "Solid South," together with the District of Columbia, the following table shows the relation that the population of these States bears to the whole population of the country at each census since 1790 :

1790.....	49.91	1850.....	41.24
1800.....	49.39	1860.....	39.16
1810.....	48.08	1870.....	36.33
1820.....	46.56	1880.....	37.25
1830.....	45.46	1890.....	35.95
1840.....	42.97		

This table shows that the proportion has constantly decreased, except in the single decade from 1870 to 1880, thus adding force to the argument that the enumeration of 1870 was defective, giving rise to an apparently-abnormal increase in 1880.

From 1790 to 1880 the proportion decreased from 49.91 to 37.25 per cent.—an average decrease of 1.41 in each of the nine decades. The census of 1880 is not questioned. Subtracting, therefore, from 37.25, the percentage for 1880, 1.41, the proportionate decrease to be expected, leaves 35.84, the mathematical probability for 1890. The census of 1890 actually gives, however, 35.95—a result differing by only .11 from what was to be expected (35.84), and by so much larger than the law of averages requires.

It may be said, however, that the war period has been included in making the average, and that it is therefore too small. The truth is just the opposite. From 1790 to 1860 the decrease was from 49.91 to 39.16 per cent.—an average decrease of 1.54 per cent. Subtracting this from 37.25, the percentage for 1880, leaves 35.71 as the percentage to be expected in 1890 on that basis. Once more, from 1830 to 1860—a period when the South was practically supreme in the nation—the decrease averaged 2.10 per cent. in each decade. Subtracting this from the percentage for

1880 (37.25) leaves 35.15 to be expected in 1890 on that basis. In each case the theoretical result is decidedly less than the one actually reported. The 1790-1880 average is the best one for use, however, because it is the one based on the largest number of data; and this is the one which is in close agreement with the census report, what difference there is being in this, as in all cases, in favor of the census. Summing up these comparisons, the relative importance of the Southern States in point of population in 1890 would be, according to rate of change, as follows:

1830-1860.....	35.15 of whole population.
1790-1860.....	35.71 of whole population.
1790-1880.....	35.84 of whole population.
Census of 1890.....	35.95 of whole population.

It has been urged that, while there were serious omissions in the census of 1870, the aggregate was not sufficient to account for the entire decline in the rate of increase. A study of the rate of increase of the total colored population (slaves and free) from 1790 to 1860 refutes this theory, and establishes beyond doubt that a much larger number of colored persons were omitted in 1870 than those who incline to this idea suspect. I have prepared this table showing the growth of the colored population from 1790 to 1880, the figures for 1890 not being yet attainable:

Year.	Total number colored persons.	Percentage of increase.
1790.....	757,208	
1800.....	1,002,037	32
1810.....	1,377,808	37
1820.....	1,771,656	29
1830.....	2,328,642	31
1840.....	2,873,648	23
1850.....	3,638,808	23
1860.....	4,441,830	22
1870.....	4,880,009	10
1880.....	6,580,793	35

If these figures are correct for 1870, the increase of colored persons between the years 1860 and 1870 was nearly 700,000 less than in the decade before, while the percentage of increase dropped from 22 to 10. In 1880 it took a sudden leap to 35 per cent.—higher by more than 10 per cent. than for the three decades preceding 1870.

If any further proof is necessary to establish the fact that the disappointment as respects the population in the Southern States to-day is the result of the abnormal apparent increase of ten years ago, and not of defective enumeration, it can be produced. Omitting from consideration those States in which the census of 1870 is known or is presumed to have been faulty, the rate of

increase between 1870 and 1880 in the remaining States has been very nearly maintained in the decade between 1880 and 1890, as shown in the following table :

Year.	Population.	Increase in population.	Percentage of increase.
1870.....	26,270,351		
1880.....	33,639,215	7,368,864	28.1
1890.....	42,693,682	9,054,467	26.9

It will be seen that the actual increase between 1880 and 1890 exceeded that between 1870 and 1880 by 1,685,603, and that the proportional increase was but 1.2 per cent. less. Here we have corroborative proof. Even those who lay stress on the percentage of increase have little to complain of in that portion of the country in which the enumeration for the last three decades has been satisfactory, since the decline in the rate of increase has been so small.

The enumeration of the people has been fairly and thoroughly prosecuted by competent officers, and the results will stand any reasonable statistical tests that may be applied. Any attacks made for political purposes or inspired by municipalities convicted by the Census Office of padding will fall to the ground. An attempt has been made by certain politicians to create the idea that the census was inflated in certain Republican States and depressed in certain Democratic States for the purpose of reducing Democratic representation. On this charge it is only necessary to produce the alleged victim in sound health to refute completely the charge of murder. The total population of the United States is 62,480,540. Out of this should properly be deducted those new Northwestern States and territories where the growth of population is abnormal. This throws out of the calculation 4,689,413, and allows for a basis of comparison a population, comprising Democratic, Republican, and doubtful States, of 57,791,127. Here is the percentage of growth, Democratic and Republican States being placed in juxtaposition :

PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN STATES
BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890 :

Pennsylvania.....	22.55	Mississippi.....	13.55
Alabama.....	19.45	Maine.....	1.75
Illinois.....	24.06	Tennessee.....	14.35
Louisiana.....	18.82	New York.....	17.69
Texas.....	40.24	Maryland.....	11.28
California.....	39.24	Indiana.....	10.65
Arkansas.....	40.23	Virginia.....	9.01
Wisconsin.....	27.99	Nevada (decrease).....	23.81

PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN STATES
BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.

Florida.....	44.88	South Carolina.....	15.23
Kansas.....	42.91	Vermont (decrease).....	0.02
Georgia.....	18.95	Rhode Island.....	24.88
Connecticut.....	19.78	West Virginia.....	22.96
New Jersey.....	24.40	Ohio.....	14.65
Michigan.....	27.66	Delaware.....	14.50
Missouri.....	23.46	Kentucky.....	12.54
Massachusetts.....	25.26	New Hampshire.....	8.31
Iowa.....	17.36		
North Carolina.....	15.51		
Percentage of increase of 34 States.....	20.50		
Percentage of increase of Western States and territories.....	112.27		
Percentage of increase of the entire country.....	24.57		
Largest percentage of increase in any one Democratic State.....	44.88		
Largest percentage of increase in any one Republican State.....	42.91		
Smallest percentage of increase in any one Democratic State.....	9.01		
Smallest percentage of increase or greatest decrease in any one Republican State (decrease).....	28.81		
Percentage of increase of 16 Democratic States.....	19.79		
Percentage of increase of 14 Republican States.....	22.43		
Percentage of increase of 4 doubtful States.....	7.39		

If any politicians can see "politics" in the fact that Pennsylvania increased 22.50 and Alabama 19.50 per cent.; Texas 40.25 per cent. and California 39.25 per cent.; Florida nearly 45 per cent. and Kansas nearly 43 per cent.; Kentucky 12.50 per cent. and Indiana only 10.50 per cent.; Arkansas 40.25 and Wisconsin 28 per cent., they are welcome to the "discovery." And if they can see in these increases and these percentages evidence of a "dark plot" to "overturn free government" and "uproot the Constitution," I have no desire to curtail their amusement or to object to their platitudes. The facts show that if such a conspiracy existed it was a melancholy failure.

And now a word in conclusion about the American method of taking a census. For this country it is unquestionably the best; in fact, it is the only system possible. That it is a perfect system no one who knows anything about census-taking will claim. The improvements I would suggest are greater simplicity in the population schedule by a reduction of the number of questions; the omission of such inquiries as those relating to mortgage indebtedness, physical disability, etc.; smaller supervisors' districts, smaller enumeration districts, and increased *per-capita* pay for enumerators. All these changes must be made by Congress, as the Superintendent of Census under the present act is compelled to obtain certain information through the enumerators, and must put the questions on the schedules. Instead of 175 supervisors'

districts, I would have at least 500, and instead of 50,000 enumerators, the number should be 100,000.

Next April they will take a census for the United Kingdom. The authorities informed me a few weeks ago, when I was in London, that in England and Wales about 40,000 enumerators will be employed. For the entire United Kingdom the number will aggregate 55,000, and this army will be supervised by not less than 4,000 superintendent-registrars, registrars, and police inspectors. To cover the United States, from the stand-point of area, as England will be covered next April, it would take 400,000 enumerators, instead of 42,000. Surely an enumeration thus conducted would yield more accurate results. Each of the English enumerators is employed about a week, and receives on an average \$7.50 compensation.

While the English census will be full and accurate, so far as counting the population is concerned, and while we may strengthen our system in the way suggested, the Eleventh Census of the United States, when completed in all its branches, will stand unequalled by any similar publication of any government in the world. Those who vilify and slander it will take their places alongside of the men who, only a century ago, opposed the idea of a census for fear that it would bring on an epidemic of contagious diseases.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

A TOPIC FOR CHRISTMAS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, K. C. B., M. P.

WAR is the organization and exercise of the combative instincts of man, common to him and beasts. Its methods may vary with the progress of science and civilization, but its incidents, for a long succession of ages, have been to desolate smiling countries, to massacre prisoners, to perpetrate every kind of barbarity, and to carry into slavery the women and children of the conquered nation. We do not require to go so far back as the flourishing periods of Chaldean and Assyrian history for illustration of this barbarity. "It is an eternal law," says Xenophon, "that when a city is taken the persons and possessions of the conquered become the property of the conqueror." The history of the Punic and other wars abounds in illustrations of this "eternal law." Carthage and Rome were advanced in civilization, but the sack of Syracuse and Agrigentum, the razing of Carthage, and the brutal destruction of Corinth were perpetrated by generals some of whom, like Scipio Africanus, could weep over their barbarities, though they did not disdain to receive honors, as heroes, from their civilized republics. There was little difference in the methods employed during the Punic wars by Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, or Hannibal on the one side, or by the three Scipios on the other. Even after these wars we read of the cultured Macedonian, Philip V., exercising such severe measures that, on the capture of Abydos, the whole population committed suicide *en masse*. We might parallel these atrocities in comparatively modern times, when the Duke of Alva made war on the Dutch Republic; but it is useless to refer to other illustrations of the bar-

barities of war, for they are more or less incident to it at all times and in all places.

“Ages after, while in Asia he who led the wild Moguls,
Timur, built his ghastly tower of eighty thousand skulls.”

Still, it would be foolish to deny that war extended civilization in ancient times. Greece and Rome did much to subdue barbarism and to civilize nations. The Scythians and the Persians were subdued from licentiousness to comparative civility. War welded the divided commonwealths of Greece into a powerful state, just as the American War of Independence showed the weakness of confederated states and united them into one of the great nations of the world. War formerly was the chief mixer of races, as navigation is now. The latter, in early times, was little better than piracy, but now it has become the great pacificator of nations. The sea, which formerly separated countries, is now their bond of union. Commercial intercourse is the circulating blood of the world, while telegraphic wires transmit the nervous influence which guides all the sensory and voluntary motions of commerce. Both war and commerce have gone through a series of evolutions in the course of history, and a slight study of these, so far as they relate to war, will best enable us to show how the progress of civilization steadily tends towards peaceful adjustments of international differences.

The original essence of war is club law—the *faustrecht* of the Germans—the law of the strong over the weak with the view of appropriating their possessions—the lust of conquest. Even when civilization assigns property to an owner, civil law may be too weak without club law to enforce the rights. A survival of this is seen in the lynch law of unsettled districts. The first phase of war, in organized communities, is the law of the strong over the weak. The second phase is that the lust of conquest is less dominant, while the desire for peaceful possession of property becomes strong. Then war is considered right as a repeller of injuries, though these are easily imagined and often fanciful. In the third phase of war, public sentiment disapproves of aggressive war, but approves defensive war. The means employed for defence often lead to defiance. The hand is kept on the hilt of the sword, but is tempted to draw it from the scabbard. Living soldiers cannot be trusted to keep their hands eternally on their swords like dead

crusaders in a Gothic cathedral. The civilized world is in the third phase of war at the present day. It is usually represented by the formula, "If you wish for peace, you must be prepared for war." This may possibly be true when a nation is surrounded by uncivilized tribes. It is not true when nations do not desire war, which is often forced upon them by the magnitude of standing armies—a constant menace to peace. Extensive armaments are a condition of war, and are opposed to the continuance of peace. A machine is not made to stand idle; it rusts if it is not used.

The desire to lessen the horrors of war among civilized nations has led to the recognition of certain international laws. The great commander, Marlborough, has the credit of having civilized his profession by making requisitions on conquered districts, instead of exposing them to indiscriminate waste and rapine. International laws are actually moral principles, positive and true in fact, not disputed by civilized nations, although they are not backed by force, which is the distinguishing feature of ordinary law. They have not yet got so far as to say when there is a legal standard for determining the justice of a war, though they mitigate its brutalities. The United States, to its honor, has always contended that an international law should be established for the protection of private property under a hostile flag. "Try, my friend," wrote Franklin to Hartley in 1783, "what you can do in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them of plundering others, and thereby impeding the natural communication to men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artisans, and the cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species." This condition was actually introduced in a treaty between France and the United States in the last century.

Various efforts have been made to prevent wars in Europe by artificial combinations of nations. At one time "The Balance of Power" was a crude attempt in this direction. It was no new method of adjusting international differences, for it was instinctively enforced by the Greek states. As an international principle it was adopted after the conquests of Charles V., and it had sufficient force ultimately to overthrow

the first Napoleon. A pentarchy of the great powers kept the idea alive in Europe, and moderated the pretensions of Russia in 1854. Though it has had its uses in preventing the absorption of small states, it was not powerful enough to prevent the Franco-German War. Now the idea is abandoned as unworkable. Nevertheless, all the past attempts to extend international laws to the mitigation of wars are noble; and in course of time the public sentiment of nations will compel them to be applied for the prevention of unjust wars. Already civilized communities have extinguished intestine wars within their borders.

In times not very remote the clans of Scotland made war against each other, while England and Scotland fought like cat and dog. In France, counties, duchies, marquisates, and baronies fought with each other for the most trivial causes. To be born a Norman or to be born a Breton was sufficient for enmity. Separation of two adjoining countries by a narrow sea was eminent justification for war. Pascal exposed this monstrosity. "Wherefore do you kill me? What! do you not dwell on the other side of the water? My friend, if you dwelt on this side, I would be an assassin, for then it would be unjust to kill you; but since you dwell on the other side, I am a hero, and it is just to kill you."

It took a long time to teach individuals that private quarrels must not be settled by force. Ordeal by "battel" only disappeared in England by an act of George III., c. 46, for a judgment of Lord Ellenborough, in 1818, declared the right of the litigants to settle their disputes by combat. No doubt the right of "battel," which was recognized and carried out in the presence of judicial authorities, arose out of the idea that "*polestas est a Deo*," and therefore that might was right. Even now a conqueror on the field of battle always declares that God is on his side.

After the ordeal of "battel" ceased to be legal, its survival continued in the modern foppery of duels to vindicate a tarnished honor. Duels seem to have been unknown to the ancients, though single combats were prevalent. The word *duellum* meant war between two nations (Cicero, Orat., 45). Duels, as a vindication of honor, were common in France: during eighteen years of the reign of Henry IV. four thousand persons were killed in this

way; and, in the reign of Louis XIII., the English Ambassador, Lord Herbert, writes that no Frenchman of position could be found who had not killed his man. Duels still linger in that country and in Germany, but have become wholly obsolete in England, Norway, and Holland. Duelling is a survival of barbarism, and should not be tolerated in any civilized country. If brotherhood among nations were recognized as a principle of international morality, the settlement of disputes by violence would be as little tolerated as the old law of "battel" between individual contestants.

Arbitration is a sound idea capable of expansion. Though it were only an idea, its triumph would be sure if founded on truth, for human progress is only the realization of ideas. Idealism becomes realized when it passes from thinkers into the conscience of a people. It was Mazzini who said: "Thought is the action of men, and action is the thought of the people." Arbitration has survived the test of time and has received practical application both in private and public affairs. As a system, we owe arbitration to the Justinian jurisprudence, the eighth section of the fourth book of Pandects being devoted to the subject. The law of Scotland, being founded on Roman law, has always recognized and encouraged arbitration, and the "decree arbitral" is enforced as a judgment by the courts of law. In England statutory intervention has been necessary to carry out schemes of arbitration. Gradually arbitration became employed to settle international differences. Vattel recommends it as "a reasonable and natural mode of deciding such disputes as do not directly interest the safety of a nation."

It is an important fact that at the congress of the great powers in Paris in 1856 a distinct article in the treaty expresses a formal approval of international arbitration. The article is in these words:

"The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express in the name of their governments the wish that states between which any serious misunderstandings may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power."

There was no force to ratify this obligation, and since then the wars between Turkey and Russia and between France and Germany show that the clause was little more than a benevolent opinion. An international police would be difficult of application, but there is a

moral force in the growth of public sentiment, which recognizes that there is a solidarity in humanity and a brotherhood among nations. The acceptance of this idea has been recently illustrated by the International Labor Conference at Berlin, the Pan-American Conference at Washington, the Anglo-German agreement in relation to Africa, the Anti-Slavery Conference at Brussels, and the arrangements recently made between France, England, and Portugal.

Although there have been failures in the adjustment of international disputes, no less than sixty-seven have been settled by arbitration during the present century, and of these as many as thirty-three have been between the United States and other nations. Some of them have concerned great questions of international right, while other cases have only been of secondary importance, though all prove that, even in the absence of international force to carry out the award, arbitration between nations is eminently practicable.

Several peculiarities as to the "Alabama" dispute between the United States and England render the arbitration in 1872 of exceptional importance. The Court of Arbitration which met at Geneva in June of that year was one of the most solemn judicial courts that had ever been established between nations. It consisted of Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn for England, Charles Francis Adams for the United States, Count Sclopis for Italy, Mr. Staemfli for Switzerland, and Viscount d'Itajuba for Brazil; the Italian arbitrator acting as president. The arbitration was preceded by a treaty between the United States and England. This treaty included certain rules as to the action of neutrals which should be binding as obligations in future between the two countries. England acknowledged that she had been remiss in allowing the "Alabama" and other vessels to escape from her shores fitted as ships of war, but limited the case to injuries "growing out of the acts" of these vessels of war. A misunderstanding of the meaning of these words nearly wrecked the arbitration.

The English and American commissioners, in making the treaty, had discussed their meaning, and the former went to England with the full belief that the words limited the issue to direct injuries. The United States government, however, claimed that they included "indirect" injuries, such as the

transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhancement of insurance, the prolongation of the war, and the additional cost of suppressing the rebellion. This wide interpretation would have thrown upon a negligent neutral nearly the whole cost of a war in the origin or prosecution of which it had nothing to do. Fortunately this excessive interpretation was not insisted upon by the United States, and the Court of Arbitration unanimously struck out the indirect clause at its first sitting. Finally, the award was that England should pay to the United States \$15,500,000 in gold "for the satisfaction of all claims." When the award was known in England, the feeling was general that it was excessive in amount, but all political parties agreed to accept it without protest. It was a great occasion, and advanced the cause of arbitration immensely. Formerly international arbitration had been intrusted to neutral sovereigns, but on this occasion two great nations, conscious of their strength, intrusted their differences to a regularly-constituted tribunal of learned men specially named, the form and method of a legal controversy being followed, while counsel learned in law were appointed by each nation to conduct the case.

This leads us to consider the two proposals which have found most favor among competent statesmen for the conduct of international arbitration. The first is to form an international congress to which all disputes should be referred; the second to form an international court of the most learned jurists of all civilized nations which may be willing to accept arbitration. Kant, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and other great thinkers incline most to a permanent international congress, to which all questions tending to war should be referred for absolute decision. This implies a brotherhood of nations which is not yet recognized in practice, though even kings incline to believe in its possibility. The King of Portugal, writing in 1864, said: "Congresses after war are ordinarily the consecration of the advantages of the strongest, and the treaties which result therefrom, resting rather on facts than rights, create forced positions, resulting in that general uneasiness which gives rise to violent protests and armed demands. A congress before war, with the object of preventing it, is, in my opinion, a noble idea of progress." Even the Emperor Alexander of Russia had this idea so forced upon his mind during a night of reflection that "he rose from his bed and

wrote a plan that all crowned heads should join in a conclusion to submit to arbitration whatever differences might arise among them instead of resorting to the sword."

It is doubtful, however, whether such congresses, which must be carried on by statesmen or diplomatists, would be so efficient as a tribunal constituted on the type of the "Alabama" Court at Geneva, and composed of the most distinguished jurists of different countries. That was preceded by a treaty binding the parties in dispute to accept the award of the court. Treaties of this kind could be general between two nations, so that the court need not be constituted *ad hoc*, but be extended to all disputes between the nations. The eminently practical mind of the late Earl of Derby urged, in 1867, this view as of possible attainment, though he foresaw that it must be preceded "by international law by which parties can be required to refer cases of this kind." Richard Cobden, in the absence of international laws, recommended in 1848 "that treaties be entered into for the express purpose of binding the contracting nations to submit their future quarrels to the decision of arbitrators."

Perhaps this is the practical stage to which the idea of arbitration has reached. Treaties of peace between nations are recommended by formal votes of various parliaments. England has not yet done so, but it is well to remember that 234 members of the House of Commons, about one-third of its whole number, signed a memorial to the President of the United States inviting him to submit the question to Congress. The writer of this article had the honor to head a deputation of English members of Parliament who presented the memorial to the President on the 31st October, 1887. They were accompanied by delegates from English trades-unions representing 700,000 workmen. The unions had a right to be heard, because those which are the largest and best-organized no longer use strikes, but refer their disputes to courts of conciliation, or, in the last resort, to umpires. The President sent the memorial to the Senate and to the House of Representatives, both of which bodies came to a concurrent resolution on the 4th April, 1890, "that the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising be-

tween the two governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration and be peacefully adjusted by such means."

Advantage was taken of the Pan-American Congress to make the basis of treaties with the South American states in this sense. A memorial signed by French senators and deputies was also presented to the President, and resulted in a serious proposal, which is now under the consideration of the Foreign-Affairs Committee of the Senate, and may lead to a treaty of arbitration between the United States and France. The parliaments of Italy, Spain, and Norway have passed resolutions very much in the same terms as that of Congress. Signor Crispi, the Italian Prime Minister, supported the Italian resolution with warmth. Nations, through their parliaments, as well as their people, are now alive to the possibility of settling international differences by arbitration. The legislatures which have already passed resolutions in favor of arbitration represent 150,000,000 of people. The extension of this feeling—and it is rapidly extending—will be a force better than an international police for securing the due observance of treaties. An international congress sat last year in Paris, under the presidency of Jules Simon, and this year in London, under that of Dr. Barth, a member of the German Reichstag. A banquet was given to seventy members of foreign legislatures by British members of Parliament. The writer of this article presided at the banquet, and had on his right hand the venerable French deputy, Mr. Passy, and on his left the German president of the congress. It was a happy omen for the cause of peace that for the first time since the Franco-German War the French and German members of Parliament coöperated in advancing the peace of the world. We were engaged in realizing an idea which is as old as Homer, for Minerva called Mars a furious, mad, and infernal god. The blood-red star, Mars, is now on the wane.

To the United States the lovers of peace look with hope and confidence that she will take a leading part in the promotion of peace by international arbitration. Her growth is the great fact of modern history. She is a country of boundless resources and has shown that she can carry on great and successful wars, so that her intervention as a peacemaker could not be misinterpreted. She is strong now and has all the elements of growing strength. In

ancient mediæval codes the maxim frequently occurs, "*Sepimentum est vicinorum Pacificator*," and for that the United States is eminently fitted. She has no huge armies or navies weighing on her finances, and is outside the jealousies of European politics; while, being neutral as regards them, she is the natural guardian of neutral rights.

The great men of this great country, from Washington and Jefferson to Grant and Sheridan, have left records of their horror of war and of their belief in arbitration. Benjamin Franklin expresses the sentiment of his nation when he said: "There never has been and never will be a good war or a bad peace. All wars are follies—very costly and very mischievous. When will mankind be convinced of this and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other." General Grant wrote an admirable passage against the use of war in international disputes, and concluded in these words: "I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe." General Sheridan was equally hopeful when he said at a banquet in Philadelphia: "I mean what I say when I express the belief that in time arbitration will rule the whole world."

The United States has already referred thirty-three international disputes to arbitration during the present century. She is better fitted than any other great nation to enforce this principle upon the world. She can begin by promoting permanent treaties between herself and France and England. The public opinion of the latter country would gladly support a movement for a treaty of peace between the two nations. We at least have a brotherhood between us. We are both the common inheritors of the traditions and glories of the Anglo-Saxon race, from which we have obtained the spirit of conciliation—a spirit that has so aided the national development of both countries. The people of the United States and the people of England are the joint possessors of the respective glories in art, literature, and science of their common ancestry. To us war would be fratricidal: to us continued peace would be the realization of true brotherhood. Never again should it be possible to allow disputes between England and the United States to be

fanned into war, so as to come under the censure of the greatest of our poets :

"This might have been prevented and made whole
By very easy arguments of love,
Which now the manage of two nations must
With fearful bloody issue arbitrate."

The governments of both countries are now in dispute as to seals, cod, and haddock. The people in each would be glad to see this difference adjusted by an international tribunal, for they will never consent to fight on such a frivolous dispute. England has invited arbitration in regard to the dispute over fishing in Bering Sea. If we make and preserve a treaty of amity, the great Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world will become a security for peace and a surety for the growth of constitutional liberty. When Canning, in the first quarter of the century, recognized the South American republics, he used words which were substantially true, though arrogant in form : "I called into existence a new world to redress the balance of the old." The American people have a right to use these words, if Canning had not, and from the new world may come the realization of the heaven-born idea of arbitration, when war between nations will be deemed to be a barbarism and a crime against humanity.

A material force tending to peace is the excessive armament of Europe, which is on a scale that shakes national credits and threatens national solvency. In the last ten years the cost of European armaments has increased by 25 per cent., and is estimated at 3 per cent. of the earnings of Europe. Luckily science has eliminated from war the qualities of personal heroism, which made it so attractive, and has converted it into mechanical means for slaughter and destruction. Every nation now shrinks from war, for no one can tell what will be its results either on land or sea. Every new invention brings the time nearer when war must be displaced by international arbitration. The very excess of preparation for war is the surest proof that our idea will be realized. The total armed force of Europe and the United States consists of four and a half millions of men in the prime of life, while the reserves, ready for service at call, amount to ten and a half millions. Substantially one out of five of all men of arm-bearing age is under the standards ready for war. How are we to reduce this

huge incubus upon the peace and prosperity of nations? An international congress might arrange a proportional annual reduction, so that the discharged soldiers might gradually be absorbed into industry.

We have tried to show in this article that the United States is admirably fitted to be the champion of arbitration in the world. She is not, however, fitted to undertake the disarmament of Europe. Germany is the power which can most easily make a movement for that purpose. The young German Emperor has already shown that he can take a large view of the interests of civilization. The International Conference on Labor summoned by him showed that his thoughts are directed to peace and not to war. It would add to his greatness and glory if he removed the pressure upon the people of all European nations by endeavoring to reduce the pressure of heavy armaments which threaten dangerous social revolutions. Hitherto he has been forced to increase those of his own country. The increasing cost of armaments and their destructive character will before long render them intolerable.

While continental countries in Europe groan under these burdens, it is the privilege and duty of English-speaking people to preach and to practise the doctrine of peace. Every Sunday morning the prayer arises in England, "Give peace in our time, O Lord!" This prayer is national, but it is followed by another, catholic and unique, applying to all nations, that they may have "unity, peace, and concord." A few hours after these prayers have been made in the churches of England, they are repeated in those of the United States, and pass with the rising light till they girdle the whole world. The realization of these prayers is within the power of the Anglo-Saxon race. They are animated by the spirit of love, liberty, and order, which has already done so much to ameliorate humanity, and the triumph of their mission will be the maintenance of peace between nations.

LYON PLAYFAIR.

THE FUTURE OF WARFARE.

BY CAPT. E. L. ZALINSKI, U.S.A.

IN these days of rapid advance in what may be called the *mechanics of war*, we are constantly informed by enthusiasts that each new invention will "revolutionize" warfare. Some even declare that the increased destructiveness of war appliances renders wars impossible.

No one appliance or invention, however destructive, can do more than modify existing methods or add a new factor to the war problem. This problem remains unchanged in its underlying principles. Its successful solution can only be obtained by following ideas and rules which have remained the same from the earliest authentic historical periods. These unchanging principles may be designated the *axioms of war*. They are essentially independent of mechanical warlike appliances.

The human race must be greatly modified before it abandons war either through fear of consequences or from higher motives than those of expediency. But the improvements in war appliances, while not rendering wars impossible, tend to shorten them. The great destructiveness of these appliances, although making greater loss of life possible in a given period of time, reduces materially the *aggregate* of losses and suffering. This last is not confined to the combatants, but extends to the non-combatants, whose suffering from sympathy and actual deprivation is as poignant and real as of those actively engaged. Paradoxical as it may seem, the fiendish possibilities of destruction which the newest weapons of war open lend themselves to the amelioration of human suffering.

Modern methods and discoveries in the art of peace also tend directly to lessen suffering and loss of life in war. The necessities of modern warfare demand great strength and endurance of

troops, so that they may march long distances with rapidity, and at the same time carry a maximum of ammunition and food. Hence arises the necessity of a high degree of physical culture. Great attention is now given in all European armies to gymnastic training, resulting in the improvement of the physique. This training enables the soldier to endure more easily the demands made upon his strength. He can also withstand better the unwholesome conditions and influences which are ordinarily productive of disease, which has in the past caused greater losses of life than the weapons of the enemy.* The future will, in this respect alone, see a decided amelioration of suffering and losses in war, compensating somewhat for the greater losses incurred in battle.

Military sanitation and hygiene have received serious attention. The soldier's clothing and equipments are being modified to protect his body fully and reduce the onerousness of burdens to be carried. His food contains all the elements of nutrition in compact form, and it is cooked so as to be palatable and digestible. The human machine is cared for so as best to conserve it under abnormal conditions and exposures.

Not alone will the improved vitality of the soldier save him from disease, but it will aid him to withstand the shock of otherwise fatal injuries. Improvements in surgery, with the wonderful benefits derived from antiseptics, will also help him to recover quickly from wounds.

To judge of the future of warfare as modified by modern improvements in war appliances, we must examine these somewhat in detail. We will first consider the weapon of the infantry, which, the smallest in size, is still the one that produces the most decisive results. The characteristics of the rifle-fire govern in a large degree the tactics of battle. The most recent developments will in the future even modify the strategic character of the conduct of campaigns.

The rifles which are now being generally adopted are all of magazine type and of a calibre varying from 0.302 to 0.315 inch. The bullet weighs less than one-half that used during our Civil War; the charge of black powder used at present is 25 per cent.

*The report of the surgeon-general of the United States army gives the number of deaths during the Civil War as follows: from disease, 136,216; from wounds, 93,969; or nearly two to one.

greater, and the velocity imparted is about double. In addition to this, the weight per unit of area of the cross-section of the bullet being greater than before, it has greater power to overcome the resistance of the air or to penetrate any object which it may strike. Its course through the air is less curved, and the danger-space for any given range becomes much greater. In other words, the judgment as to the distance of the enemy need not be so accurate within the ordinary fighting ranges. Furthermore, it will not be necessary at the last supreme moments, when fighting within 500 or 600 yards, to make any changes in elevation. The chances of each bullet attaining a billet in the ranks of the enemy become very much increased as it sweeps along nearly parallel with the ground.

The use of the magazine rifle, permitting from five to eleven rounds to be fired in as many seconds, enables the delivery of a fire in the final critical moment which may well be called a *feu d'enfer*, and which must render the success of the attack upon intrenched troops well-nigh impossible.

So-called "automatic" rifles have been made from which it is possible to fire seven rounds in one second. In these the force of the recoil is utilized to eject the old shell and insert a new one, close the breech, and fire; this being continued until the magazine is emptied. To do all this it is only necessary to load once, cock the hammer, and pull the trigger once. The remainder of the cartridges in the magazine are then fired automatically. This having been deemed too rapid, the arm has been modified so that a separate pull of the trigger is required for firing each round, but no exertion beyond this slight bending of a forefinger is demanded. Such arms are not considered desirable because of the too rapid expenditure of ammunition. But this argument was likewise made against the introduction of single breech-loading rifles and, more recently, against the magazine rifles. As the magazine rifle has now been accepted, it is not improbable that the magazine automatic rifle will in turn meet with favor. Rifles of this class have been made which fulfil, apparently, all the requirements of service. It is, therefore, solely a question of supply of ammunition, and this will surely be provided. The use of the small-bore rifle enables the soldier to carry about 70 per cent. more rounds of ammunition than of our present service calibre.

Coupled with the rapidity of fire and improved ballistic con-

ditions, which give flatter trajectories, increased danger-zones, longerranges, and greater penetrative powers of the bullets, there is a promise of the perfection and use of smokeless powders. If introduced, these will leave the field of view in battle unobscured. As the smokeless powders are so often mentioned, it may not be amiss to discuss them briefly. They may be divided into four classes :

- (1) Picrate class.
- (2) Nitrate-of-ammonia class.
- (3) Nitro-cellulose, or gun-cotton, class.
- (4) Nitro-cellulose and nitro-glycerine combined.

The picrate class, having picric acid as a base, have been tried very thoroughly and found unreliable. The first of the smokeless powders which were used by the French consisted of a combination of picric acid and nitro-cellulose. Combinations of chlorate or nitrate of potash with picric acid were also tried. After a number of modifications, all of which were found to deteriorate in time, this class has been abandoned.

The nitrate-of-ammonia class, consisting largely of that salt, are objectionable on account of their hygroscopic character.

Only the two remaining classes, nitro-cellulose and its combination with nitro-glycerine, appear thus far to have given good results. But we may well feel doubtful of the entire reliability and stability of any powder which contains nitro-glycerine. In the best of these defects have been developed, and no one kind has been accepted as sufficiently perfect to warrant its preparation in large quantities for future use. The smokeless powders, when acting properly, produce higher velocities, while the pressure is not too high, and, indeed, give in some cases lower pressure, than the best black powder. Being made chiefly of high explosives, they necessarily have possibilities of instability of character. One cannot but feel regarding them as one would toward a captured lion or tiger which may have been apparently tamed. Subject to control under ordinary circumstances, the natural ferocity of the beast remains latent. At any instant it may break forth and destroy the tamer who, the moment before, appeared to be its master.

Ordinary gunpowder alone appears to be worthy of full confidence. It is now used advantageously in a compressed form in small-arms ammunition, giving velocities as high as 1,900 feet per

second. Sufficient has been accomplished with smokeless powders to indicate that they may be used in small arms in future wars. Particularly will this be the case where the combatants assume that a war of long duration is out of the question, and that serious deterioration before use is not possible.

Smokeless powders are not, however, noiseless, as is so frequently stated. The noise is somewhat different from that of black powder, being on a higher key ; but it can be heard quite as distinctly and as far as when the latter is used.

The increased deadliness of fire due to better ballistic conditions and unobstructed view of the target has made it advisable for troops to secure artificial shelter when nature does not provide cover. This has caused a large percentage of the troops to be provided with portable intrenching tools. Provision is made for quickly rendering temporarily-occupied positions impregnable, by a larger supply than heretofore of wagons and carts carrying regular intrenching tools. In addition to this, there is a possibility of using small portable armored turrets, carrying quick-firing guns, for still further strengthening the key-point of a position on the battlefield. Some of these were used for this purpose in the German manœuvres of 1889 in Hanover, and they appeared to be as readily transported as pieces of field artillery. Galvanized corrugated sheet-iron arches are also provided for field use. With these, splinter-proof shelters against vertical fire can be quickly improvised at key-points of the line of battle.

Thus intrenched and armed, the question of an attack becomes a most serious one, and direct attack will not be made if avoidable. Where the ground which must be advanced over is entirely favorable to the defence, in affording an unobstructed view of the attacking forces for considerable distances, front attacks, such as have been common in previous wars, will be exceptional. Each army will endeavor, by manœuvring, to force the enemy to attack, itself choosing to do so only when the conditions of the terrain are most favorable, or only when obliged to do so by most urgent necessity.

When obliged to make the attack on an open and exposed terrain, there is now serious debate as to how such an attack had best be made. Shall it be in the extreme of open-order formation in successive clouds of skirmishers, or shall it be in closer order? On the one hand, it is said to be impossible to keep troops under

requisite control; on the other, denser bodies are thought to be more liable to destruction by the enemy's fire.

It would appear that a combination of the two is demanded. At the longer distances, where the trajectory will be somewhat curved and the danger-zones consequently somewhat less, the formations will be in successive lines of battalions at distances from each other greater than the length of the danger-zone of bursting shrapnel. Nearer at hand they will break up into companies, still nearer into platoons, and within the last 800 yards into squads in open order, but not so far dispersed that each squad may not be held well in hand by its immediate commander. As the combat is continued and the enemy in front becomes fully occupied by the swarms of the first lines of the attack (many under cover, but near the enemy's position), the succeeding lines will advance in more compact order, moving rapidly, halting momentarily in favorable positions to gather breath and strength for the next rush, and finally all charging so as to support the broken crowd of the front of the attack by solid bodies of troops.

That such an attack cannot be made without terrific loss goes without saying. This must be anticipated and accepted from the beginning, and no attack entered into unless the means are at hand to push it to a successful conclusion, whatever may be the result. To hesitate, once having undertaken an attack, is surely to be lost. A defeat will mean more loss in the course of the repulse than could have been incurred in the aggregate had the attack been forced home to a successful conclusion. In the last stages of such an attack bodies of cavalry may well be advanced rapidly in support of the infantry, both in the direct front and in flank movements.

Successful action will in the future rest more than heretofore on the subordinate officers, including the non-commissioned officers. These will have to be most carefully selected and educated. To them must be given a great degree of consideration and authority, in order that they may command the fullest obedience and control in time of action: discipline, as applied particularly to the conditions of being under fire, should be Draconian in character, however gentle it may be at other times. The soldier must be made to feel that in retreating without orders he will not alone be subject to greater danger from the enemy, but also, if he should escape, from the action of his own authorities.

Severe action is justifiable in such cases, because success is often within the reach of troops able to make a determined and continued effort. If this is not made, all the loss to this point, and all that will surely be lost in the retreat, will have been needless. In other words, troops must be made to feel that their best chances of escape are in success.

The study of the details of terrain will be of the greatest importance in determining upon the tactics of battle. The ability to utilize accidents of the terrain in taking up positions and choosing points of attack will more than ever be an essential requisite to successful command.

Mounted troops will be used in much larger numbers than heretofore. Besides being employed for covering and observation purposes, they will be used largely where rapid movements are necessary, and to surprise the enemy by attacks on his flanks or lines of communication. The force best trained to dismount rapidly and make an attack or take up the defence on foot will undoubtedly have the greatest chance of success. Particularly will this be the case where the combat is with attacking cavalry.

A temporary madness appears to have seized European armies in the adoption of the lance for cavalry. It is difficult to ascertain upon what experiences of actual modern warfare this predilection for a weapon of the distant past is based. In the most recent battles every attack of cavalry against unbroken infantry has failed, however determinedly and recklessly made. The weapons borne by attacking cavalry appear to have been of but little importance, as success depended mainly upon the moral effect of the onrushing horses against troops already shaken. Infantry or dismounted troops will be better able to withstand a cavalry charge in the future, in view of the greater flatness of trajectory, range, and power of penetration of the new small arms, especially when combined with the advantage given to the defence by the use of smokeless powder.

The lance is a serious encumbrance, and great skill is required to use it successfully. Its range is but a short distance in advance of the rider. Its thrust may be parried. But with practice the horseman may become so skilful in the use of the revolver as to insure his hitting the human target at three to four times the distance attainable with the lance. The bullets cannot

be parried. If there is any chance of the rider approaching within thrust of the lance, there is certainly a greater chance of his coming within effective range with the revolver.

Much is said of the demoralizing effect of the rapid approach of charging horsemen. But this moral effect will be as strong when these horsemen are armed with a weapon that may not be parried and is far-reaching as when they are armed with the short-reaching lance. In the last case we may consider the horse, and the horse only, as the really effective arm and projectile which is being launched against the enemy, and success is dependent upon the extent to which this may act upon the imagination of the defence.

What has been said of the lance applies equally to the sabre. Both are encumbrances which but seldom repay the trouble of carrying them. The rare occasions when they may be successfully used are times when a well-handled revolver would be much more effective. The modern magazine carbine, giving a flatter trajectory than our present service rifle, will be the chief weapon of mounted troops.

Artillery will fill a more important part than heretofore in deciding the fate of battles. The longer range of modern field artillery, combined with the possibility of accurate measurement of ranges by improved range-finders and better time-fuses, will give it a large radius of effective action. This will also permit a wider selection of positions which may be occupied while concentrating fire upon any desired point of the enemy's line. Hence a much larger number of guns than heretofore may be simultaneously brought into action, directed by means of the telegraph and telephone.

In the Franco-Prussian War the German artillery were constantly pushed to the fore. With a gun of relatively low velocity, and with no range-finders, this was doubtless the best course to pursue, particularly as the small arms of the day had also shorter ranges than now. Neither was the fuse of that day (so necessary for successful shrapnel fire) reliable enough to warrant firing freely over their own troops. The German artillerists apparently cling to the methods and material of 1870. They ignore range-finding, and trust entirely to the expensive way of "shooting in" by the "bracket" or "fork" method. This "fork" method may be called a purely "cut-and-try" one. Percussion

shells are fired until one is seen to strike short and one beyond, and then the firing is by successive intermediate ranges until the "fork" is not longer than 50 metres. Fire is then opened with the entire battery. Fairly good results may, with very great experience, be obtained in this way if the ranges do not exceed 2,000 yards and the conditions are most favorable. How often failure results from this method is shown in the remarkable "Letters on Artillery" of Prince Hohenlohe Ingelfingen.

Artillery equipped with range-finders and accustomed to their use will have a great advantage over artillery not so supplied. A mediocre range-finder will produce better average long-range shooting than the best system of guessing and "cut and try." The difficulties involved in carrying a sufficient number of rounds of ammunition emphasize the necessity of avoiding waste and making every shot tell. It is better to take a little more time and measure the ranges, producing an immediate effective fire, than to fire rapidly, but without producing results. From one to three minutes suffices to measure a range, and the time thus taken is more than compensated for in increased effectiveness of fire. Frequent changes of position will be avoided.

Telescopic sights are necessary for the long-range work of modern field artillery. The absence of smoke will often make it difficult to detect the enemy's position and to direct accurate fire upon it. The telescopic sight will be an essential adjunct in directing the guns with sufficient accuracy to utilize the long ranges attainable.

Not alone will the use of range-finders and telescopic sights add to the certainty of artillery fire, but we may look for improvements in ammunition which will give greater uniformity of results. The cartridge-bag will be replaced by metallic cartridge-cases, hermetically sealed to protect the contents from atmospheric action. Until the smokeless powder becomes an accomplished fact, we may look for the use of compressed black powder in metallic cases, like that used so successfully in small-arms ammunition.

The longer ranges of artillery fire should indicate its use at distances beyond the effective fire of infantry, provided that the former can be delivered accurately. With improved ammunition, with range-finders, with telescopic sights and due consideration of atmospheric conditions, greater accuracy of fire should now be obtained.

at 5,000 yards than was formerly obtained at 2,000 yards and less. The improvement in time-fuses will render it safe to use shrapnel fire over one's own troops, while making this most important fire more effective. Indeed, where the enemy are intrenched, as will frequently be the case, the longer range-firing may be more effective than that delivered from shorter distances, because the fire is more curved, the angle of fall being greater and having more chance of striking a covered enemy.

To attain this same end, gun-cotton bursting charges have been tried, the object being to produce the explosion just beyond the enemy's trenches and cause the fragments to fly backward. This will be met by the defence throwing up another line of breast-works in their rear, should this reverse fire annoy them.

The universal intrenching of troops when not required to be moving will undoubtedly be met by greater development, for field operations, of vertical-firing artillery. Mortar fire has heretofore been considered inaccurate. This has been largely due to inaccurate methods of pointing and loading. An increase of accuracy is now attainable and a formidable vertical fire can be delivered.

Small mortars of 3.6 or 4 inches calibre will be suitable for such work. These mortars, light and portable, carried on carts and placed on the ground when firing, can be moved wherever infantry can go. A range of at least 4,000 yards can be attained with them. Not less than 500 of these mortars could be effectively used as an arm of reserve, to be brought into action at critical times. They can be manœuvred and their fire concentrated upon any portion of the enemy's line with a degree of facility hardly obtainable with that number of field-guns. The vertical fire enables a position to be chosen behind a hill or woods, entirely removed from the enemy's direct fire. Although such indirect fire has its difficulties, improved methods will aid in overcoming them. The demoralizing effect of a vertical fire concentrated upon any portion of the enemy's position previous to attacking by infantry will be great. The demoralization of an enemy's troops is more dependent upon considerable losses in a given short period of time than upon greater losses distributed throughout a day's fighting. For example, a loss of 3,000 inflicted on a corps of 20,000 within ten or twenty minutes will tend to demoralize the troops more than a loss of 10,000 in the course of a

day's battle. Losses inflicted upon troops lying down and apparently under cover, unable to strike back, are much more dispiriting than the loss of a larger number when they are actively engaged in retaliating upon the attacking force, or when they themselves are engaged in attacking. Such a body of field-mortars may be able to assist an attacking force for a considerable time while the latter are advancing on the enemy's position.

Should smokeless powders become available for field artillery, it will be a decided gain, as the positions occupied by the guns will usually not be sufficiently defined to permit the enemy to obtain ranges, when reasonable care is taken in placing the guns. The use of smokeless powder will most benefit the defence. If it were admissible, one would use for infantry fire smokeless powder when defending a position, and smoke-producing powder when attacking, in order, in the latter case, to obscure the field of view of the defence. To provide this veil of smoke for the attack, powder producing even a denser smoke than ordinary powder will be used as a bursting charge for shell and shrapnel fired by the attacking artillery.

Battles will no longer present the brilliant and kaleidoscopic pictures of the past. The uniforms for service will be of the least visible colors, all conspicuous ones being discarded. Gray and brown will predominate. Arms and accoutrements will be browned and lustreless. The pomp and circumstance of war will be relegated to the parade-ground in the piping times of peace.

The increased use of railroads will materially aid in shortening wars, permitting rapid concentration of troops. Each of the contestants will try to bring overwhelming numbers to the probable theatre of war, and little time will be lost in commencing active operations. Railroads were first built with reference to the requirements of commerce. In recent years old lines have been extended and new lines built solely with a view to war. This has been constantly going on throughout Europe since 1870.

We may judge more clearly of the probable influence of railroads in the future by noting the progress made. In 1806 Prussia mobilized and concentrated 145,000 men, a few marches from the centre of the state, in forty-five days. In 1866 Prussia mobilized an army of twice that number in thirteen days, and concentrated it on its frontier in eight more days. In 1870 Germany mobilized 500,000 in eight days, and in eight more concen-

trated 450,000 on the extreme frontier, much farther from the centre of the state than in 1866.

With the great extensions of the railroads since 1870 by all of the great powers of continental Europe, we may look for a rapidity of concentration far exceeding the past, and decisive actions may be expected in a very short period after a declaration of war. Thus they will shorten the duration of wars materially. A crisis in the affairs of one or the other contestant will be likely to be reached at an early date. We may look for the concentration of the armies in a single theatre of war. No contestant will be likely to scatter his forces in the face of the certainty that his opponent will concentrate all his available forces at the point where the most decisive results are likely to be obtained.

Commanders on the defence will be less likely to allow themselves to be diverted from their main purpose by any threatened attack upon distant points. They will hold their forces together and take the chances of local injuries rather than lessen their chances of defeating the main attack or change their own plan of attack.

Light portable railroads, such as the French Decauville system, will be largely used in rapidly building branches, where needed, to follow up closely the movements of troops. These will minimize the wagon trains, which would otherwise become of impossible size for the very large armies that will be used.

Besides shortening war by the rapidity with which decisive results may be obtained, the increase of railroads tends also to reduce suffering by facilitating the removal of the sick and wounded to suitable permanent hospitals and to their homes. The possibilities of recovery are thus increased far beyond what they are when the wounded are treated in field hospitals.

The telegraph, combined with portable field telegraphs, will keep a commander constantly in touch with all subordinates. The telephone, of course, will be largely employed. Battles will be directed by means of these, producing greater unity of action than would otherwise be possible for the large bodies of troops engaged.

Balloons may be used for observation purposes, but sufficient has not been accomplished to warrant the assumption that they will be able to go where desired. Their dirigibility and powers

of locomotion are not as yet sufficiently developed to make them generally useful. They may be sometimes used for observation purposes, but, with modern artillery and range-finders, they must ascend to heights of two or three miles to be out of reach of effective fire. At altitudes which may be considered safe balloon observations will be of little value. Especially is this the case in hilly and wooded countries. Captive balloons may be used for short, momentary observations, but even this is only possible where the wind is less than ten miles per hour. Beyond this velocity, unless the balloon has an extraordinary surplus of buoyancy, it will be beaten down by the wind. To have sufficient buoyancy to withstand a moderate breeze, balloons must be so large that, with the necessary apparatus, they will be cumbersome to transport and difficult to fill, and will afford excellent targets for the enemy's gunners.

Photography is to play an important part among the auxiliaries of war. Reports of reconnoissances will present to the eye of the commander the very scenes of different parts of a proposed field of operation, and he will be able to judge at a glance that which would have taken some time to grasp if limited to the ordinary field notes of a military reconnoissance.

Nothing but the most careful study and preparation to meet the complex character of all combinations of contingencies in future warfare can give any reasonable assurance of success. The commander who does not do his utmost to prepare all of the factors of his forces for the most intelligent and strenuous exertions, but trusts only to the inspirations of his genius when the critical moments shall arrive, will surely be defeated. Genius alone will not enable him to conquer an opponent whose officers and men have had superior training and whose equipment of material may also be superior.

E. L. ZALINSKI.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

PEOPLE are said to be apt to believe that things that are unknown must be magnificent, but, unless they are stirred to quick action by the special incentive of gain easily acquired, they are also apt to let that supposed magnificence remain an unknown quantity. There is something in the very vastness of such fields for exploration and enterprise as that of Africa which discourages men from interesting themselves in a subject so bewildering in its immensity. Of old it was so with regard to America. Men in England hardly knew where Canada or New England was situated on that great map which spread in desolation to the North Pole and the central deserts, and, with the exception of a few navigators, hardly cared whether the first-named countries were or were not near or far from California or Mexico. Even among the colonists themselves—yes, even as late as 1850—the words might be heard, “Go to California!” as though it meant banishment from any reasonable sphere of human interest. That this is not so now is only because the world is for all of us becoming smaller as its populations become greater. From the seething centres those who are pressed move more easily away.

Perhaps in regard to Africa there may have been in other days special forms of discouragement. Over tremendous spaces there is a climate which, unlike that of the American continent, is reeking with fevers; some very fatal, as on the Congo coast; some of a less formidable character, as on the eastern seaboard, and pervading what is known of the interior. Commercial companies, too, had not fared so well as might have been expected from the energy of those who undertook them and the large populations among which it was endeavored to force a way for trade. Scotsmen, at the time when the union with England was more

a vision than a reality, had formed an African company and had come to grief with the Darien scheme, chiefly owing to the jealousy of England. The Niger Company in later times had not made much profit.

To be sure, parts and spots and isolated fringes of the great Unknown Land were always held to be of value. The seaboard of the Mediterranean, on the north, was prized and coveted, and though the site of Carthage remained almost deserted, yet Algiers and Tangiers, and, above all, Egypt, had become bones of contention among the nations of Europe eager for predominant influence in that sea. The history and antiquities and wondrous relics of the civilization of old Egypt had excited the fancy, as well as the cupidity, of the seafaring peoples. And then again, far in the south, Great Britain had used the Cape of Good Hope as a stepping-stone to India, and had waged war after war to extend and consolidate her possessions in that region, ousting the Dutch, who have left in the Boers and colonists of their race a sturdy fragment not always friendly under this new dispensation, but now working together with the British in subduing the lands and their native lords. The same necessity on the part of the British to find outlets for their own and Indian trade had made portions of the continent facing India and the Red Sea better known. The jungles and the savages of the west coast had been touched and small settlements made, and the suppression of the slave-trade, a crusade on which England entered honestly enough, had worked in the direction of leading us on to exploration.

But as the government had always plenty to do elsewhere, but little regard was paid to Africa in general. The Portuguese were originally the only people that with their government had dreamed of extended empire. They had done a good deal along the coast, and remarkably well-constructed forts built by their engineers may be seen to this day along an extended line of stations, which embrace not only the African, but other coasts stretching towards India. They had also knowledge of the interior to a surprisingly accurate degree. In ancient Portuguese maps, dated 250 years ago, the great bend of the Congo is laid down. No one else had so boldly marked the course of that river, which remained a puzzle even to David Livingstone. Of course the latitude and longitude of the curve of the river from a course flowing northward to one flowing to the west were not pre-

cisely laid down in these Portuguese charts, but the general character was not incorrectly given. They had probably derived their information from no better source than that which also with more or less of correctness described the Nile as flowing from great lakes near the Mountains of the Moon, where dwell the pygmies, as shown in the maps of the geographers of the ancient world. Still the ancients, and later the Portuguese, had a better idea of these things than had the learned modern geographical world up to a period that the youngest of us can remember.

But we were long content to let the land of big apes, small men, and mighty lakes and mountains and forests, alone. We had too many other matters on hand, and richer, or apparently richer, fields still to be developed. But gradually a change has come, and now there is a thirst for African exploration and for empire in Africa, and a general scramble among civilized nations to share the continent between them; an eagerness to know more and get more, and to possess all that can be claimed and gained, that is remarkable and all-engrossing. King Leopold, of Belgium, probably anxious to give his vigorous people something better to think of than the perpetual squabbles between Clericals and Liberals, or the labor disputes of the crowded little kingdom, has, with singular wisdom and generosity, spent a large fortune in securing for them the so-called Congo State—territory that enters by a narrow avenue along that river into the interior and then expands until its flanks rest, upon the north, on regions near the sources of the Nile; and on the south its limits are not very far from the River Zambesi.

France has a large slice to the north of the Congo, and, more important still as regards European politics, she has secured the reversion of the Belgian territories; for there is an agreement in existence that gives to her a redemption right over all of them if at any time the Belgians do not care to continue in possession of the heritage that has been secured for them by their wise and far-seeing ruler. The Portuguese have still an immense block on the west coast to the south of the Congo State, and a considerable share of the east coast, including the invaluable harbor of Delagoa Bay. Then Germany again, on both sides, has great possessions in the country opposite to Zanzibar Island on the east, and on the Atlantic to the south of Portugal.

Britain has hitherto been represented not only by her great

colony of the Cape, but also by several companies whose agents and explorers have hoisted her flag around the Transvaal Republic and have called themselves the South African Company. Then to the north of these are the British Lakes Company, and, if we leap across the German belt opposite Zanzibar, the East African Company, possessing a splendid harbor in Mombassa, on the Indian Ocean. These last possessions now continue northward until in Abyssinia they meet the Italian protectorates; for the Italians, too, have been subject to the African epidemic, and their King Humbert is as eager as is King Leopold that in the division of the new black world his power shall rank with the others in exercising at least some influence.

Never, probably, in the history of the world was there such a rapid portioning-out of other men's goods; for, of course, the natives have not been represented at any of the conferences that have been held in the distant capitals of the invading white men! Yet these natives are in number as the sands of the sea, and it is over no scattered series of bands, such as existed in America in the case of the Indians, that dominion is to be exercised, but over organized peoples and confederacies, some of whom could place two hundred thousand men in dusky array of battle. Truly it is a wonderful phenomenon—this pouncing of northern eagles and lions upon the abodes and realms of the black man. And why is it? Oh, for their good, of course! We shall stop their mauling and enslaving each other, and they ought to be grateful, and would be so if they only knew what unselfish intentions we one and all of us have!

Meantime there is some suspicion that some of us may not be quite so good as we say we all are: so we come together in far-away Europe, and we pledge ourselves, each, all, and severally, to do as follows. What a pity it is, by the way, that the Indian Department at Washington, at least, is not represented among these kings of men!

"In the name of God Almighty" (then follow the names of the contending sovereigns), "all of whom being animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in African slaves, effectively protecting the native populations of Africa, and insuring for this vast continent the benefits of peace and civilization; wishing to give a fresh sanction to the decisions already taken in the same sense and at different epochs by the powers to complete the results obtained by them, and to draw up a scheme of measures guaranteeing the accomplishment of the work which is the object of their common solicitude, have resolved to hold a conference at Brussels, and declare that the most effective means for counteracting the slave-trade in the interior of Africa are: progressive

organization of the administrative, judicial, religious, and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty of civilized nations; the gradual establishment in the interior by the powers to which the territories are subject of strongly-occupied stations, in such a way as to make their protective or repressive action effectively felt in the territories devastated by slave-hunting; the construction of roads, and in particular of railroads, connecting the further stations with the coast, and permitting easy access to the inland waters and on the upper courses of the rivers and streams broken by rapids and cataracts, in view of substituting economical and rapid means of transport for the present means of carriage by men; installation of steamboats on the inland navigable waters and on the lakes, supported by fortified posts established on the banks; telegraphs, expeditions, and *colonnes mobiles* to keep up the communication between the stations and secure the routes; the restriction of importation of firearms and ammunition."

There are also provisions, which, it is to be hoped, will be honestly carried out, in regard to the importation of spirituous liquors, each nation undertaking to institute a line beyond which prohibition shall be absolute for any quantity of liquor brought for trade purposes. All these things they pledge themselves to do, and mean to do, and a good deal more—for it is now confidently believed that ivory and gold and diamonds may be found in remunerative quantities.

The words of the agreement are ample enough, and might be held to imply that the governments themselves would actively aid, by the use of moneys drawn from the public treasuries, any efforts made by their subjects in the direction indicated. Portugal must, indeed, have done so directly, and her example has been largely followed of late by Germany. The German Chancellor who followed Bismarck into power has sustained the work of Peters and Wissmann by grants from the exchequer, and comparatively little of the money spent has been contributed by merchants and other private persons. Caprivi, in the Reichstag, indicated that he thought that in England the citizens were willing to embark their money in such ventures as those involved in opening up Africa, but that, such not being the case in Germany, it was necessary to aid by government support. Unless very satisfactory results are obtained, it remains to be seen how much the German nation will allow their government to spend, especially in view of the very heavy taxation levied at home in preparation for another war with France. France herself has not spent much on her African possessions, but she has entered on a policy of largely subsidizing her mercantile marine. The Messageries Company receives no less than £600,000 per annum, and runs steamers on each side of the Indian Ocean. While Britain has been content to give very little assistance to her navigation

companies, Germany, again, has granted no less than £45,000 to a line of steamers running down to Zanzibar. It will be a curious study to watch how these artificial, or, at all events, extraneous, encouragements to mercantile traffic will fare. If these nations care only to have their flag flying from a considerable merchant marine, they must pay heavily for it while competing with the British services which depend almost entirely upon the natural profits made in their business.

But why is it that so much rivalry is being developed in regard to the Dark Continent? Several causes have led to it, and the seeds of the fever have been long sown in the system. Schweinfurth was probably the father of the colonization societies which have sprung up in Germany having a hankering after Africa; but there has long been a feeling there that "*das Vaterland muss grösser sein*," and that it is not altogether satisfactory to German pride that Uncle Sam takes so many Germans away from the said Vaterland to turn them into undeniable American citizens in the second, or at most in the third, generation. Unfortunately, the "colonization" societies have as yet chosen places which are not favorable for white men to colonize. New Guinea, for instance, is far worse than Equatoria. Germans have always been famous for their accurate map-making, but they have grown somewhat impatient of only mapping the countries belonging to other flags, and they naturally exult that the black, white, and red now waves over such extensive lands that somewhere, whether in the south or on the plateaus of the hotter parts of Africa, there may be standing-room for patriotic men who must leave home, but desire to carry their banner with them. Some day they may meet France in Africa, but in the mean time, and until the Belgians see fit to drop their prize, the Congo State forms a wide buffer between Teuton and Gallic influence.

There have been other distinguished travellers, notably Du Chaillu, who can be held as originally French, but the British travellers who have made their mark far outrank all others, both in numbers and in importance; and it is to them that we owe in the main the interest manifested in the new countries. Every one will remember the work of Livingstone; but Speke and Grant, who labored so lovingly and courageously together; Sir Samuel Baker and his heroic wife; Burton, famous on the Red Sea littoral as by his translation of the "*Arabian Nights*" and his won-

drous journey as a Mohammedan pilgrim to Mecca ; James in kindred regions ; and, above all, the marvellous careers of Gordon and of Stanley, have fixed attention on the possibilities lying latent in spaces as varied as they are vast. There is no doubt also that the rich finds of gold in the Transvaal and of diamonds at Kimberley, with the reports that have come in of an apparently limitless supply of the precious metal in many places, have excited the public mind so that it would not be difficult in London, at least, to get funds to start mines wherever a prospector had penetrated and hammered the rock or washed the gravel in a river.

Livingstone, to be sure, did little to encourage the idea of gold. The only gold visible about him was the gold of his character, and a remarkable hat-band of the same color he always persisted in wearing, whether in Africa or in Europe. That gilded hat-band had probably much to do with the conversion of the savage to Christianity, which was the purpose for which Livingstone travelled, toiled, and died. He had probably found it an open sesame to distinction in the minds of the natives. It was a most awe-inspiring diadem ; and if it avails on the captain's head or the merchantman's deck, why should it not help discipline and enforce awe on the children of Ham ? When there remained little to mark Livingstone as an Englishman, when his skin was burned dark brown, and his speech had become almost wholly Makololo, that golden hat-band remained to distinguish him outwardly from all others.

But how far above any ordinary mortal's was that man's character ! None more pure, more faithful, more unselfish, more calmly courageous and merciful, was ever formed by God. To lift the dweller in heathen degradation in heart and body to happier consciousness and higher existence, and to learn the secrets of his land, that it, with him, should be open to better influences, was his sole and simple end and aim. He delighted, too, in the majesty of the new scenes he was the first to see and to describe. I remember how, after a long walk in the Highlands, he threw himself down in quiet delight on the heather on a hill summit, and compared his own Scotland with the country in which he had spent so many trying years. He liked to describe in his slow speech, full of the acquired gutturals and liquid sounds of the African tongue he had so long spoken, his impressions of some of the great wonders of nature in Africa. Thus he lingered over his

remembrance of the first time he saw the Victoria Falls. He had known Niagara ; but these falls were like a great succession of Niagaras in long rank, thundering into a huge crevasse or long split in the plain—a cleft so narrow that the effect of the great breadth of this cataract was lost unless the traveller were close to the abyss. Perhaps, he said, we might say that it was an advantage that we did not get that impression from a distance that rendered Niagara from the Suspension Bridge too much like a big mill-sluiice.

It was admiration for Livingstone that led Stanley on his adventurous quest, and Stanley's fame and deeds have ever since incessantly called men's minds to the paths he trod. When Du Chaillu had found for us the gorilla, Stanley found our Livingstone, and then the true course and great value of the Congo, and then, in searching for Emin, the dwarfs, the vast forest full of elephants, and the wide plains, the uplands, and the mountains that give birth to that river on which we may fear there will yet be many a fight for empire—the Nile, with its annual tide, the only river of the ancient world which retains on its banks the peoples which have lasted and lived while Nineveh and Babylon have sunk into the desert beside their streams, and are only heaps of sand giving no shelter even to the rudest nomad.

So it is a strange mixture of sentiments that has given rise to this thirst that has afflicted or blessed the world to enter Africa, and to behold the yet unseen ; the holy zeal to strike the chains from slaves ; the love of adventure that makes conquest a pleasure ; the curiosity of science that causes geography to be a delight ; and the greed of gold and pride of dominion that in martial rivalry must subdue, possess, and organize the lands that shall yield a tribute to the god of commerce, and help the ever-growing comfort and luxury of the teeming millions of civilized mankind.

The share which has fallen to the East African Company is especially interesting at the present moment, when a part of it has been so graphically described by Mr. Stanley that, with the aid of his pen and the illustrations which accompany the text, we are as familiar with the scenery of the western side of the Lake Victoria Nyanza as we are with Broad Street or Piccadilly. We feel to know the faithful tribes who, with his own Zanzibaris, rescued Emin Pacha's discontented soldiers not only from the hosts of

Kaba Rega and the Ballegas, but from the consequence of their own frivolity, treachery, and mutiny.

The territories gained for the British protectorate are divided from the Congo State by a line running nearly due north, and therefore including the province of Equatoria, the scene of Emin's temporary viceroyalty, and both banks of the Nile, with the valuable stations of Lado and Wadelai. Here we trench on the abortive work of Gordon. May we not at some time avenge his death and have recompense for the dismal page in our history stamped with the name of Khartoum? The two smaller lakes, Albert Edward and Albert Nyanza, lie the one partially and the other wholly within our limits. Recent accounts show that their waters are probably receding, but they will form useful channels of communication by steamers until railways can be brought to their banks. The countries of Unyoro and Ankori and Uganda are pleasant and populous. Colonel Grant formed a very high estimate of the qualities of the people of Uganda. "If my old friend Mtesa, the king, were now alive," says he, "you would have little difficulty in bringing a railway to those parts, for if the king had held up his little finger, you would have had in his day thousands of eager warriors prepared to work as navvies on the lines, and their grading could all have been done by setting his nation to work in the west while you approached from the sea."

But now revolutions and changes have shattered the monarchical power among the Waganda, and we can no longer entertain any confident hopes that they can give much material assistance. Missionaries always do good in the "long run." But at first the effect of their natural rivalry is a little disappointing. For instance, in Uganda the Roman Catholic missionaries and their Protestant brethren have divided the people into two hostile camps. Perhaps, as in other lands, the belligerents only took the mask of religion. Anyhow, the "Katoliki," as the Roman Catholic blacks call themselves, are at civil war with the "men of the book," as the Protestant blacks are called. Then the Arabs come and use these divisions, and the king, Mwanga, had lately to hold his court in the security of an island in the great Lake Victoria, because he was powerless on the main land. Serious conflicts have occurred between the rival factions, and the missionaries have been more occupied with dressing wounds of late

than with the cure of souls. All will, no doubt, soon come right, but the old united nation of Uganda has been rent in twain, and is likely, under the Arab guidance, to oppose in part, a resistance to the approach of the forces of the East African Company.

It must in any event take time to advance the roads so far. The mountain group of Ruwanzori and, further south, of Mfumbiro (the initial M's are pronounced—Mumfumbiro, Mumtesa, Mumpapwa, etc.) will afford perfect sites for hill stations for Europeans and persons unable to bear the heat of the plains. Cotton can probably be made to thrive on the west and north of the lake, as well as nearer the seacoast. There are fine forests around the shores, comprising trees that yield very valuable timber. Corn is grown, and millet, beans, sugar-cane, bananas, and plantains; great herds of cattle and goats and sheep meet the eyes of the traveller.

Again, there seems no end to the supply of India-rubber. The quality is of the best, as the London merchants testify. It is easy to gather the gum harvest. Trees are tapped, and the viscid sap flows out in such sort that the pliant threads can be wound round and round the first bit extracted, so that very soon you have an elastic ball that bounds off the ground again to your hand.

The lake itself is two hundred and thirty miles long and almost as broad, and possesses good harbors and many sheltering islands. Steamers will at once be built in England and sent out in sections, and the carriage of them up country will not long be delayed. It is intended also to construct a light line starting from Mombassa, on the seacoast, to traverse the plateaus and have its terminus on the lake.

Although there are some demarcations of the frontier line with the German territories which are by no means what could be wished, considering how much we in the past have done in these countries and how novel the German zeal for their acquisition has been, yet, on the whole, we may be fairly satisfied with the arrangements concluded recently at Berlin.

The country along the proposed railway route has been only partially explored. There is a bad tract along the coast and then hills occur. The wood is dense and necessitates incessant cutting as progress is made inland. Especially troublesome is this when camels have to be taken through the jungle. Forts or stockades are being erected at intervals. The Gallas are a formidable race,

keeping the other natives in great awe of them. But there is great encouragement to make a caravan route, for water is plentiful at all times of the year at convenient places. It is reported that there is much cultivation of the land by the natives of Fula-doyo, and villages are frequent and large. There is sufficient grass for fodder. The policy adopted is to free at once all slaves brought along from the interior in gangs, and, in regard to the Arab domestics, to free them by letting them earn a little money wherewith their freedom is purchased. In the interior the Masai are perpetually making raids and carrying off cattle and gear, and there is no doubt that a force will be required to keep these and similar gentry in order.

The soil is often good. The openings in the forest are clothed with excellent grass. The rock is generally of a slaty character, well adapted for building, and among the beds are frequent bands of quartz which seem to be auriferous. Copper in sulphate form has been found, and plumbago. At Machacos, again, a stockade has been made. Further on there may be some trouble with streams in flood, and with the quicksands that are left in the dryer seasons of the year. A place called Nzoi is the next station, and here granite appears, and then the river Kibweji is reached, flowing through a district good for white men because elevated and wholesome, the water being excellent and flowing over great beds of lava.

But this sketch covers only part of the route, and fresh explorations must be made before the remainder of the road to the lake can be even located. Among the vegetable products which are remarkable is a species of aloe called mbouge, with a very strong fibre, capable of resisting moisture. The natives, says Captain Lugard, who has written very interesting notes, extract this fibre very cleverly, and it may prove more valuable than hemp. The supply is absolutely unlimited, and, as it can be floated down the rivers, the transport will cost nothing.

Mr. Jackson has penetrated with an expedition further than Captain Lugard, and has reached the lake shore. His men were too much afraid of the Arabs to let him lead them into Uganda. They were also attacked in the neighborhood of the lake by many native tribes, and another expedition with nearly 400 rifles has been sent to make good the road. It was found that there was much ivory in the country, but its possessors were unwilling to

sell it for anything but cattle, and cattle the expedition could not give. "Blood-brotherhood" was made with some of the chiefs, and it is evident that we shall have some sturdy allies on our side. The ceremony necessary for this making of blood-brotherhood differs with different tribes. In one case it was necessary for the unfortunate white leader to cut a little piece out of his own flesh and give it to the chief, who gave a similar savory morsel to his English ally. Both then had to eat their gift! Great herds of cattle and of smaller domestic animals were seen. The natives have poisoned arrows, and are evidently good at bargaining. They are very numerous, and their country may contain much mineral treasure, but the geologist and mineralogist have not yet examined the rocks. In 700,000 square miles there must be much to discover, and much that will be of great commercial value.

Of these and other possibilities it is as yet too early to speak. But of this we may be sure: that, whether our progress be slow or fast,—and too great haste may not mean better speed, unless we can, as we march, conciliate the natives,—we shall do our best to keep from the inhabitants the plagues that have too often followed the white man,—drunkenness and disease,—and we shall most certainly, as we go, spread the blessing of freedom until the slave-driver, with his manacles, yokes, and whips, shall be only an evil memory of the past.

LORNE.

MAIDENS AND MATRONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

BY MRS. BURTON HARRISON, AUTHOR OF "THE ANGLOMANIACS."

FLOATING about the drawing-rooms of the old *régime* in Richmond is the tradition of a travelled young Southerner who, goaded by the spur of political conscience, lent to the Confederate capital the light of his presence during several years of the war. When asked, upon first arriving, what part he meant to play in aiding to shape the new order of things for the would-be independent South, his reply was: "I haven't quite made up my mind; but I think it probable I shall put down quadrilles, teach the girls their proper place, and bring the young married women out."

In spite of the best efforts of reform, the artless conditions of society in which a woman once married, however beautiful or young or clever, is pushed to the wall like the heavy furniture when a dance is under way, have not yet been banished from our land. The more remote members of the struggling young family of sixty-odd millions, shown by the census to be assembled under our national roof-tree, still believe in early maturity, are dazzled by superficial brightness, and refuse to hear themselves denounced from dictating centres as beneath the yoke of a barbaric cult. That we, at the corner-stone of the commonwealth, are in full practice of the conventionalities of older civilizations, where matrons of all ages have their due share of the honors and influence and responsibilities of social interchange, our far-away brethren are only just beginning to find out. In this respect they are fairly on a par with the travellers and writers of other countries who, when at a canter across our continent, pause for a moment to stare at some trait or custom of a raw settlement recently reclaimed from virgin wilderness, to cry, "Oh!" and

"Can these things be?" and to assure their hearers or readers that with such leaven Americans are leavened in the lump.

No feature of our sociology is more fruitful in flippant comment than the national attitude toward the young girl alleged by such critics to be the actual disposer of our social destinies. It has proved useless to suggest to commentators upon our body social that a distinction must be drawn between the refined daughter of a cultivated home, hedged in from birth with every nicety of influence and education, and the bogie of modern novels and essays who is accepted as our "type." To the enthusiasts who yearly undertake to condense America into paragraphs, or expand it into chapters, it makes very little difference where they place the caricature their souls delight in. One of the latest specimens of this sort of writing is to be found in the pages of "*Les Américains Chez Eux*," a publication from the pen of the Marquise de San Carlos. After describing the *vie intime* of a New York family of wealth, the members of which, "arising at seven o'clock, the hour of going to bed the night before," consume a breakfast of "bleeding meats, tea, coffee, warm heavy pastry called hot rolls, and iced water," then scatter, the men to business, the women to spend the day in shopping, for the pleasure of "carrying parcels home through the street," or at numerous "receptions,"—with an account of the dinner, eaten in silence and followed by an exhibition of the master of the house sitting, absorbed in thoughts of his affairs, with his heels on the mantelpiece until it is time to go to his "agitated sleep,"—the author gives us the following impressions of a representative American maiden :

"The code of convenances, as we understand it in Europe, exists nowhere in the United States. . . . As soon as a young girl is declared to be 'out,' she does absolutely all that comes into her head. Her first care is to have a reception day different from that of her mother. . . . Mademoiselle also receives alone in the evening, and her mother is careful to avoid checking by her presence '*les expansions de la jeunesse*.' . . . Without losing her innocence, she leads the life of a rushing young widow. . . . If this young person cannot find a husband for herself, she remains an old maid. . . . Traditions and the fruits of experience having in general no existence in the United States, one finds in the education of their children strange misconceptions of propriety. For instance, Mlle. —, the most modest of young girls, gives an evening party, and reproduces, for the amusement of her friends and the occupants of the boarding-house in which she lives, the poses of the most remarkable statues of European museums."

Another specimen of free-handed criticism is from the recent letter of a German gentleman of good education to a friend :

"In the United States callers in the evening are received by the young lady of the family, seated in the 'parlor' in her rocking-chair, after her father and mother

have retired up stairs ; she is very agreeable and entirely at ease ; if one remains till ten o'clock, when the rest of the house is wrapped in slumber, he will be asked, before leaving, to turn out the gas in the hall, and his young hostess will, with her own fair hand, put up the night-latch when he goes."

Such generalizing is part of the penalty we shall continue to have visited upon us so long as the least flutter of our national pennon is of interest to lookers-on under other forms of government ; or so long as (to quote from Professor Bryce) "the social and political experiments of America, constantly cited in Europe as patterns and warnings, are hardly ever cited with knowledge of the facts, much less with comprehension of what they teach" ; he justly adds that "where premises are wrong inferences must be unsound." It would be interesting to know in how many tens of thousands of our homes the strictures of such essayists would be received with amused incredulity ; but, in their bearing upon the subject of this paper, even such unflattering assertions must be considered in relation to the germ of truth from which they have been elaborated for general application. And by a glance at some of the dominant characteristics of elementary society in our broad land we may arrive at a reasonable understanding of the facts.

The further away society is found from the fountain-heads of coercive custom, the more ardent among us is the worship of the girl fetich. Under the conditions of life in our regions toward the setting sun, and in the climate where myrtle and orange shade her bower, woman's charms are earlier developed and earlier spent ; "a rose, she lives the life of roses, a morning's space"—and must enjoy her fleeting hour, or none at all. In many of the mushroom communities of the frontier the laws of homiletic etiquette are framed in her honor with a simplicity as limpid as a mountain brook. A graduate of an Eastern university, recently taking up his abode in one of these Cities of the Plain, was, shortly after his arrival, waited upon by two of the town "beaux," who, with affluence of courtesies, requested him to inscribe his name upon their "Social List." Speaking for the cream of local aristocracy, they were the managers of an annual series of assembly balls, and explained that, in order to facilitate the general attendance of young ladies at these festivities, it was the rule to assign to every available young man a girl whom it was his duty to "call for in a hack" and escort to the place of revelry. That the propriety of the presence upon such occasions of an older woman had apparently never

entered into the calculations of that coterie is, it will be said, an illustration of a stage of progress in the custom-making groups of all primitive societies about which Walter Bagehot has quoted the captious phrase, "Manner gets regularly worse as you go from the East to the West: it is best in Asia, not so good in Europe, and altogether bad in the Western States of America."

But we should be loath to extol the sensual, superstitious "Mother of the Maids" of Oriental custom, at the expense of the chaperon who is a necessary part of good society and good form in Europe and America, or even at the expense of the sketchy personage who sometimes supplies the limited demand for such an article in the untutored circles at one of which my story allows a glimpse. And, judging not only from the infrequency there of the resounding scandals of more advanced communities, but from local observation of other facts, the social relation in even the least conventional of our American communities is proof that "altogether bad manner" may be an accompaniment and conservator of very good morals. Bagehot's citation, however, like many another clever generalizing phrase, has less of accuracy than point. We have in America fewer examples, perhaps, of that refinement in woman which comes of practice in all the arts of society in an ancient civilization; but the general average of manner resulting from purity of mind and an intellectual training may be claimed to be higher here than in any other country of the world. And that is an end sought to be reached by institutions of republican equality.

To know her as she is, the actual American girl-sovereign to whose account we must put some of the strange charges laid at our door, it is necessary to journey far, and behold her majesty at home. She is in the human family as the cape jasmine in the kingdom of plants—able to survive transplantation, but rarely seen at full bloom and fragrance under alien skies. Fair and brilliant, she is as fearless as a nymph of Diana's train. Constantly in movement, her throne is often a saddle, her sceptre a riding crop. She rows, swims, shoots, dances with equal skill; reads novels abundantly; works not at all. As all men in her neighborhood are banded for her protection, she does not hesitate to go about alone, or with the cavalier of the hour; choosing now this, now that member of her train to be the recipient of her smiles; impartially delighted with them all. Innocent in thought

and unconscious of danger, without intention of being defiant, she does not know the meaning of the word conventionality. It was of such an one in the Southwest, where he had known her, that a young American discussing the type, when asked in an English drawing-room, "Can you trust your men in such a case?" said, with dignity, "We can trust our young girls, in such a case and always."

To follow from afar the movements of this elusive charmer in all parts of the territory where she prevails, one would have to make use of the Lick Telescope instead of a lorgnette. In the South she is generally lithe and tall, of a clear pallor in complexion that by lamplight warms into rose-bloom upon the cheeks, with dark orbs, languid during the sultry hours of day, at night and under the impulse of music, dancing, attentions of the other sex, shooting forth a thousand beams of merriment and mischief—a creature who can no more resist appealing to man's service, taxing man's gallantry, testing her own power over his helplessness, than a humming-bird can turn away from a flower-cup of sweets—a coquette born, whose most engaging aroma is exhaled between the ages of sixteen and twenty. The whole omnipotent sisterhood hold sway through their youth, insouciance, fearless audacity. These apparently-soulless witches excite among their followers a loyalty combining the fervor of Don Quixote with the indulgence that is all American. For a brief season they flit and gleam; they marry early, or not at all; and then comes the reverse of the medal. Who has not seen such deposed idols sitting wan and cheerless in a room-full of their pre-matrimonial worshippers? Without reason, save that of custom, the favorite has ceased to attract. She hangs on forlornly for a little while, and then her star sets, to rise again, perhaps, in the person of her daughter. Fortunate in being able to console herself with domestic joys, she makes an admirable wife and indefatigable housekeeper. It is on her first return to society after her nuptials that the former admirers of the butterfly, now crushed, contrive to let her know there is no longer zest in conversations made up of complimentary personalities and the exchange of infinitely small talk about theories of love and marriage. Like the *cigale* of the French fable, she has danced and sung her summer days away.

It were futile to attempt assembling statements about our restless people which may be expected to make a correct picture of

what will be a year ahead ; but, unless all signs fail, the movement is in full swing that will restore suppressed parents, console flouted matrons for long desuetude, and, it may be, even establish a bench of dowagers as a background for every provincial gathering. In the turmoil of inchoate settlements seeking how to push ahead to be neck to neck with the best lies a germ of national evolution. Our zeal for change, for continual improvement, is more conspicuous in petty matters than in great events. With the transfer or imitation of the column of "society intelligence," published in mammoth dailies of the East, now essential to any country journal that sings the progress of a local "Miss Mamie" or "Miss Susie" from "hop" to "drummers' picnic," we have learned to blush at nakedness of which we were hitherto unaware.

If there is any point a progressive American is sensitive about, it is his knowledge of how to do things as they are done by recognized authorities. For his simple needs, the chatter, the tyrannies, the petty exactions, of the ex-schoolgirl in society have been ample, until now. Accustomed to wreath the flowers of rhetoric around her shrine while scattering sugar-plums and roses in her path, he has wondered secretly at the taste men avow to-day for the companionship of ladies "on the shelf." He has all his life known the Sisters of Dorcas in alpaca gowns and sealskin jackets who form the church sewing-circle, and tries, and fails, to imagine them seated in V-cut robes *en train*, watching the progress of a protracted "german." But, difficult as conformity may be, he is heroically determined it never shall be said that in his part of the world they allow themselves to falter long in observance of the code of etiquette New York and Boston have definitely accepted. He is in his way as resolute and anxious about that as was the Marylander intent on general acquiescence in his claim to long descent, who, in a casual conversation at the club, unfolded to an astonished Englishman an elaborate pedigree which he drew from his pocket, having it always there, ready for any emergency.

Another lantern is now turned upon the path where are soon to be marshalled the hosts of home-keeping matrons who have so long and so bravely borne the burden of domesticity, uncheered from without. The leader of society in Newville, let us say, has become a diligent student of those strenuous little manuals which, like the peerages revised every year to date, our publishers

of to-day provide in such apparently useless numbers. From one of these springs of wisdom he sips, to ascertain "it is no longer the mode to give preference to a miss over a married woman, if the latter be of the dancing age"; "the most recent bride should be led out to conduct the cotillon, or to head the march to supper"; "a married lady may now receive the social calls of her gentlemen friends in the necessary absence of her husband, without subjecting herself to the criticism of the unkind." And, although the concession is rather cruelly limited by the text to the "dancing age" (whatever that may be), it is apparent that here the matron may read, at last, the decree of her emancipation.

The fiat having gone forth, what a flutter in provincial dovecots! Pastors, taking the alarm at this evolution from the peaceful joys of church fairs and "oyster box-lunches," embody in their sermons lurid mutterings against the decadence of true American womanhood. The question is discussed in women's debating clubs, is peppered with Liliputian arrows of sarcasm from the "Stroller" or "Lounger" without whom no country paper nowadays deems itself complete; is made the occasion of more clack of tongues than a canvass of rival politicians. The husbands of some, arming in defence of immemorial rights, sniff the battle from afar; others, less belligerent, are quite sure their spouses are too well satisfied at home to wish to break down the long-established barriers of usage. Girls, enthroned yesterday in secure sovereignty, still toss their heads at the idea that a mere Mrs. Anybody is to come from nursery and storeroom to take a place in their free ranks. They can't imagine what Mr. Jones or Mr. Robinson can find to say to a woman who has been married; and the real trouble of the situation is that Messrs. Jones and Robinson, although ambitious to conform to the requirements of metropolitan fashion, are secretly gnawed by the same distressing doubt. And then, while uncertainty and contention are at their height, arrives, in print, the glowing account of some Eastern ball or function of high society, from which the advocates of the new movement extract triumphantly the names of the leading belles, each, with a few "professional" exceptions, bearing the matron's prefix.

Little by little, led by the daring, the timid fall into line, and the old order changeth. Such equality of feminine awards in the social prize-giving seems, to some of the elders

who cherish Puritan traditions that have begun to loosen their iron grip upon America, to prelude little short of the speedy destruction of mankind. What, they argue, has any right-minded woman to do with junketings, after her day's work is laid aside? It is her place to be content, as generations of her predecessors have been content, with the society of the husband God and the law have provided for her perpetual edification. But, alas! many a time has wisdom cried aloud in the streets when no man has heeded her. The inexorable course of social growth deals with towns settled by the wandering offspring of the Pilgrim fathers as it is dealing in Scotland with those peopled by descendants of grimmer Presbyterians, who, it is now averred, dance the polka and drink champagne-cup at recurring festivities of their congregations—the dominie himself lending a foot, now and again, to the merry round! Verily, as comments the keen chronicler of these surprising incidents, “there has been nothing like it since the Flemish cities took up the Renaissance.”

Returning to the long-settled centres of our States, we find that locality and custom afford our matron her revenge. Not only in all communities assuming to be abreast of modern conventionalism is her right to precedence established beyond the chance of heart-burnings; but, oftentimes, when a girl of our day makes, at her mother's elbow, her first courtesy to the world, the *mater pulchrior* is the rival most to be feared by the *filia pulchra*. A clever American woman touching her forties, who in the healthful ease of well-to-do modern life has kept her good looks, and has added to them a tact and facility in conversation born of long habit, is as attractive to the youngster strutting his first opinions as to the club-man who has no time to lose in explorations for new discoveries. One sees the daughter of some brilliant favorite of society leaving the hands of her masters and governess, shy, reserved, angular; too full of theories for the patience of her fellow-beings; inclined to mistake sarcasm for wit and to practise it at the expense of the first comer, or to turn her back on him outright; civil only when she chooses to be so; usually looking with cold gaze upon the passing show. What wonder that people approach her but for her mother's sake, or that, pushed along as if on rollers, she runs a little way to stop?

Another specimen of a débutante often forsaken for her elders

may be, and in truth most often is, charmingly fresh and dainty, with eyes, like those of old René of Provence in boyhood, "*à fleur de tête*." The most jaded frequenter of crowded rooms is tempted to linger in her spring-like atmosphere. But, alas! there is no object short of a roc's egg so rare as a fresh young girl who can control herself to pay attention to her interlocutor when in a throng. Her gaze is through him, not at him, and wanders incessantly; her voice rises, pierces his tympanum in random answers or in trivial comments on the scene; and soon her discouraged admirer drifts away in search of some haven of companionship where conversation may be found and enjoyed.

History affords many examples of women both elderly and dowdy, and neither beautiful nor rich, who continued to be sought by the cleverest men of their day until the coffin-lid was shut in the face of callers. Théodore de Banville depicts a wonderful comtesse who, with every appearance of youth and vivacity, danced, sang, and otherwise charmed a critical assemblage until she dropped dead after supper,—of old age,—leaving a young husband of twenty-five to mourn his loss. We hardly expect to see these things come to pass in our day. It would be too much to ask of even an American youth who aspires to be *fin de siècle*, to burn his candles before the goddess of ethereal sentiment. He is a creature who believes in what he sees, and demands an equivalent for every outlay. The married belle of our time and place is most apt to be she who can control and afford such good things of life as a desirable country-house or a yacht, dinners, balls, operaboxes, four-in-hands, perhaps a Pullman car.

Sometimes an oldish woman who talks well, and gives a good cup of tea on Sunday afternoons, is not altogether overlooked by male beginners. And we have always with us the mature impressionist who scruples not to confess to every new acquaintance that her husband is a bore; who, like the illustrations in the journals of society, is forever posing amid cushions, under palms and lamps, her taste in men culminating in the very young ones who bleat their emotions in her ear. The recently-married, or the wife of a few years, young, joyous and captivating, seen in company surrounded by her husband's friends, himself among them, is forever pleasing to all men. Whether at dance or horse show, opera or drum, the woman most conspicuously followed and fêted by the other sex is, in nine cases out of ten, in marriage-bonds.

None can pretend to vie with her, except the real reigning "beauties" who are almost always "about to" marry some one—even if they do not, in many seasons, accomplish that notable achievement. And in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Newport, or any other centre of our most conventional society, the explanation offered by men of the world for their wholesale surrender to appropriated loveliness is that, in this material age, one cannot afford to be devoted to any woman who may reasonably expect him to propose !

Forsaking the comedy aspect of our question, we may assert, as a proposition it is to be hoped none will gainsay, that modern society will continue to make broad the borders of its phylactery in proportion to the presence and participation in its reunions of the women who, with gracious tact and kind feeling, give variety and sparkle to conversation, illumine commonplace, and lightly dispense the benefits of such experience as may save their juniors from a world of mortifying retrospect.

And I do not like to let this article go into print without emphasizing the word so seldom spoken for the larger class of home-bred, thoroughbred American women, as modestly retiring as they are intellectually eager, who are often jostled out of line before the public by the dashing sisterhood for whose shortcomings they are unjustly judged. Their wholesome and busy lives, so admirably full of effort in the direction of charity, of literature, of art, create an impression on their surroundings of the utmost importance to the social progress of our cultivated people.

Having thus handled my subject as a study of manners chiefly, I have not touched upon the graver aspect which may be suggested in a final paragraph. It is against reason that a young creature, before whom life opens as a clean scroll to receive her experimental sketches, should be weighed in the balance, as a maker of the habits of society, with the woman who in the depths of human emotion has learned wisdom, and has acquired in the married state and maternal relation a true knowledge of the motives and feelings that govern men and rule the world.

How America esteems her flower of maidenhood, a superficial glance reveals. What America owes to the energy, the tact, the inspiration of her wives and mothers, the wonderful progress of our commonwealth in the civilization we exhibit has already proved, and the future will continue to exemplify.

CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON.

OVER-PRODUCTION IN SECURITIES.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE great growth of London as a financial centre necessarily implies serious penalties as well as great profits. As the monetary centre that has been levying tribute from all the rest of the world in the shape of interest, dividends, and profits, it is not much wonder that in transactions so tremendous and operations so complicated mistakes and disasters should occur. The necessity for an outlet for British capital is the cause of the misfortune that now overtakes the world, and which in the embarrassment of the great house of Baring Brothers finds its most pronounced expression.

Accustomed as the British public are to look abroad for fields for profit, it was not surprising that the Argentine Republic should seem an attractive portion of the earth's surface, in which development should rapidly take place, and from which large profits should be realized. Progress in South America might with some reason be expected to parallel, even in a faint degree, the progress made in North America ; and when a virgin field for investment was afforded, large prospects glowingly pictured, and a basis of security offered which seemed ample, it is not altogether surprising that once again the European investor made a mistake. The fact that 500 millions of dollars were advanced within a very brief period for development in the Argentine Republic, with a population of only four millions, is but one cause of the difficulties of the hour. Investments by France in the Panama Canal, by Germany and Belgium in Africa, by England in Australia and Canada, in South America, and in almost all other parts of the globe, have absorbed an amount of capital far in excess of

what could well be locked up, unless, indeed, the return was immediate and early realization of profits possible.

When it is realized that in London alone the corporations created during the past six years foot up to the enormous aggregate of 3,488 millions of dollars, it will be realized with what rapidity securities have been created, properties taken over, and investments made. If a financial revolution was caused by the creation in this country of the war debt of 2,700 millions of dollars, all of which was spent or lost or realized within the country itself, what may not be expected if corporations are created in London for 3,400 millions, three-fourths of which is to go out of Great Britain? It is true that a very large portion of the wealth represented in these issues may have been placed in projects entirely legitimate and profitable, but the fact, nevertheless, remains that the volume of undertakings was almost beyond reasonable belief (exceeding a million and a half per day), coupled as these were with enormous governmental demands from abroad in the shape of loans and subsidies, including the attempt to furnish, as in the case of Russia, vast sums with which to maintain peace establishments more expensive than those necessary even in time of war.

It will thus be seen that the evil of the time is excessive output of securities on the one hand, representing an enormous outlay of money on the other. But this amount, vast as it may be in the aggregate, is, nevertheless, quite within the power of Great Britain to furnish. For she is the possessor to the largest extent of all the moneyed wealth in the world, and it will be only a short time before the vast proportion of even this investment will return to her in the tribute from the rest of the world to which her position entitles her.

So far as the money which has come in the direction of the United States is concerned, there seems no cause whatever for apprehension that, as to the 200 millions of dollars which have found their way into railroad, land, and industrial enterprises in the last three years, there should be either serious loss suffered or anxiety manifested. Nevertheless, it is true that many of these securities were bought in the expectation of a premium, and that many people in England were much more influenced by a desire to gain a premium than to own a property, expecting to unload upon their fellow-speculators at an advance in price over that at which

they themselves borrowed the money to buy. Now that the money is to be paid, and the market is found to be overstocked, there will doubtless be continued depression. But the prudence exercised in most of these investments, their profit-earning-power, the stability and strength of the industries of this country, our ever-increasing population and material progress, form a basis for an earlier return to a safe and sound condition of finance than can be found in any other department of English investment.

With regard to the condition of business throughout the United States, notwithstanding the clouds that lower over the commercial horizon, and the dangers which may flow from disturbances in Great Britain, this may with truth be said: that, so far as the country itself is concerned, there never has been a period in its history when fewer disturbing elements were present to affect the healthfulness of its trade. The enormous extent of the transactions consummated, as shown by the Clearing-House returns; the great volume of internal commerce, as shown by the increased railway and lake tonnage; the rapid development of natural resources; the creation of wealth as illustrated by the 8,000,000 bales of cotton produced; the variety and excellence of the crops; the output of iron, oil, and coal,—all point to a condition in which if safety does not reside, there is no safety elsewhere in the world.

It is true that there is an absence of banking capital with which to carry forward this tremendous commerce. It is unfortunate that, owing to the reduction of the public debt, the basis for banking facilities diminishes, and that without enlarged facilities it is somewhat difficult to discover how legitimate demands of traders and manufacturers for accommodation can be met. The hope that currency based on silver would relieve the situation has been indulged, and it is not improbable that Congress, at its forthcoming session, may meet the difficulty in a way that will at least afford temporary relief. But aside from the want of facilities with which to do business, and the restriction which operations may suffer therefrom, there is every reason to feel confident that the commercial affairs of the country are in a sound and healthy condition.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

DR. KOCH'S DISCOVERY.

BY PAUL GIBIER, M. D., DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK PASTEUR
INSTITUTE.

WITHIN a few days public attention has been much excited over the announcement of a discovery of the greatest importance—that of a cure for tuberculosis. I shall attempt to prove that this discovery presents not only a medical interest, but also a social interest, the effects of which will be incalculable, if the fact of Professor Koch's discovery becomes established.

It would be inopportune in a paper of this kind to analyze the studies made of the tubercle from an anatomic point of view; however, a word on its history will not be useless. Laennec* was the first to give an exact notion of the tubercle; then came Reinhardt† and Virchow,‡ who have given a good description of tuberculous lesions. The tubercle is a mass of cells caused by the presence in the tissues of certain microscopic beings, living strangers developing themselves at the expense of the elements of our organs. Their form is that of a little stick composed of round grains very near each other, and a microscope enlarging at least 500 times is necessary to perceive one of these bacilli.

The contagiousness of tuberculosis appears to have been perceived by physicians anterior to those I have just mentioned. Thus, Malpighi, in one of his letters, declares that he would not consent to make the autopsy on a man who had died of consumption even if the kingdom of France were offered to him. Laennec, to whom I have referred, seems to have had an idea of the inoculableness of that disease. In sawing tuberculous vertebrae, he inflicted a slight wound on his finger: the result of this wound

* "Traité de l'Auscultation Médiate," 2d édit., 1826.

† "Ueberenstimmung der Tuberkelablagerung," etc. (Annalen d. Charité), Berlin, 1850.

‡ "Die Tuberculose" (Verhandl. d. phys. med., Gessellsch. 1855).

was the development of a small tumor containing caseous matter, which he cauterized with protochloride of antimony. Laennec died of phthisis. But the man who really proved the inoculableness of the tuberculous substance is a French army physician, Dr. Villemain, who by his numerous experiments proved at the same time the contagious nature of the tubercle and its identity with caseous lesions of a scrofulous nature.

Pasteur proved the part played in contagious diseases by microbes, which he was the first to cultivate outside of the living organism. When he had cultivated not only the microbe of anthrax, but also those of chicken cholera and of the furuncle, etc., learned men, who had before their minds Villemain's discoveries, judged that, tuberculosis being a contagious disease, the element of the contagion must be a microbe analogous to those in the diseases I have already mentioned, and a considerable number of investigators set to work to discover it. A French scholar, Dr. Toussaint, obtained growths of an organism presenting the appearance of small grains in chaplets. He cultivated these organisms in broth. I have examined the organs of animals (rabbits) inoculated by Toussaint with the seventeenth culture of this microbe, and the microscopic examination of the lesions showed, with the aid of appropriate reactions, the characteristic bacillus of tuberculosis.

At this time Robert Koch made known his discoveries on the same question. He indicated a particular process to color the productions of the tuberculous patients, by the aid of which the existence of the tuberculous bacillus in the special pathological lesions is placed in complete evidence. And, what is more important, he announced simultaneously that he had cultivated that bacillus in an inert nutritious medium, and that this culture, repeated several times on a similar substance, could by inoculation give tuberculosis to animals. We may say that, in spite of previous attempts, the discovery of the bacteria of tuberculosis was made by Robert Koch.

Let us now examine the side of the question which is most particularly the object of this article. At the moment when these lines are written a few favorable results following the application of the method of inoculation for the cure of tuberculosis have been brought to us by cable; but we are still ignorant of the composition of the liquid used for the injections. The field,

therefore, remains open, and we shall give a free course to our own suppositions.

It was at the recent Medical Congress in Berlin that Robert Koch publicly announced for the first time that he had found the means of arresting the development of tuberculosis in animals. His experiments had been made on guinea-pigs. These animals are even more sensitive than man to the action of the tuberculous bacillus. All the experimenters that I met at the congress in Berlin were of the same opinion. We agreed, first, that from the moment Koch communicated a fact of so great importance, that fact must exist; second, that, the guinea-pig being an animal very sensitive to tuberculosis, if a method existed to prevent the evolution of the tuberculous bacillus in the tissues of that animal, the success of that method could, *a fortiori*, be predicted in the case of man.

It is now about ten years since Koch began his experimental researches on tuberculosis. When I studied in his laboratory in 1885, he had made known, three years before, his method for the cultivation of the bacillus. His ten years of laborious and persistent research are highly rewarded. *Finis coronat opus.*

According to the communications which have reached us, what can we presume in regard to this new method of treating consumption? The injection is composed of lymph; if we are well informed, this lymph is a transparent and brownish liquid. I suppose the word lymph is meant to be the equivalent of *serum sanguinis*. It was, in fact, in the serum that Koch made his first cultivation of the tuberculous bacillus. A few drops of this liquid injected in the cellular sub-cutaneous tissue of a healthy man produce but little effect. On the contrary, in a person attacked by tuberculosis the reaction is more or less strong; the visible tuberculous lesions, notably those of the skin, modify themselves before our eyes, the whole accompanied by a feverish period of short duration, but quite intense. The inoculations must be continued during several weeks. They are made in the region of the back, above the loins, in the place where the injections to protect one from hydrophobia are now made.

Persons who have applied to me for information on this subject of so great present interest have all asked about the same questions—What can that liquid be? Does it act like the liquid used to inoculate against hydrophobia? Is it a substance ana-

logous to vaccine, used as a preventive for small-pox? Or are there attenuated growths like those employed in Pasteur's method against anthrax? Or is it a powerful antiseptic acting through a special tendency upon the tuberculous bacillus?

I think we can even now eliminate all kinds of comparison between Koch's liquid and the virus, composed of nervous rabic matter, which is injected into persons bitten by dogs suspected of or attacked by hydrophobia. I should say as much of what concerns the Jennerian vaccination against small-pox, from this fact, that, if we are well informed, the liquid injected in Berlin is clear and transparent; unlike the others referred to, it contains no solid particles in suspension. We should for the same reason eliminate the supposition that it is an attenuated culture. Finally, we know that tuberculosis is a disease specially subject to relapses: a first attack, far from protecting against subsequent attacks, constitutes rather a reserved seed which will become developed at a suitable time, when the composition of the soil—that is, the constitution of the affected individual—lends itself to it.

It has been proposed to treat tuberculosis by injections of bacilli antagonistic to those which produce the disease. It is, perhaps, to an antagonism of this kind that we owe the protection of the Jennerian vaccination against small-pox, although certain pathologists are disposed to see in the microbe of vaccination an organism identical with that of small-pox, but attenuated by its passage through certain animals, like those of the equine and bovine species. But this is not the process employed by Dr. Koch.

By elimination we remain in presence of two hypotheses. One is that Robert Koch has found in his researches a chemical compound, an agent of a special antiseptic power, which fastens on the bacillus of tuberculosis; a very small quantity of this antiseptic (chloride or cyanide of gold, silver, or platinum, for instance) would be sufficient to destroy the contagious germ, and then this antiseptic would act after the manner of nitrate of silver on the *aspergillus niger* experimented upon by Raulin,* which suffices, with one-sixteen-hundred-thousandth (1/160000) of this salt added to a nutritious liquid where this mucor is cultivated, to arrest its development instantaneously. If the *aspergillus niger* in question was a human

* "Ferments et Maladies," Duclaux, Paris, 1882.

parasite determining a disease analogous to consumption, and even capable of invading the entire human body, the necessary weight of nitrate of silver to radically cure a man of medium height affected with this supposed malady would not be over one grain. Is it not permissible to admit that in nature, and even among the chemical agents which we have in our laboratories, there may be found one or several substances capable of acting as powerfully on the different bacilli that are the agents of the zymotic diseases with which our race is afflicted? It is, therefore, a sort of equation which might be thus established: *Nitrate of silver is to aspergillus niger as x is to tuberculous bacillus*, or any other contagious disease: $\frac{A_g A_z O^5}{A N} \quad \frac{x}{T}$

The foregoing hypothesis appears very reasonable, and yet another possibility presents itself to the mind. It is a fact well known in laboratories of bacteriology that, when a microbe has developed itself in a medium of liquid cultivation, at the end of a certain time a cessation in the development of the microbe is observed. The liquid, however, is not exhausted; another microbe of a different species may be developed if it is added to the first. But, instead of proceeding thus, if the liquid is filtered so as to retain the first germs which have been developed there, and if new microbes of the same species in full vitality are added, no new change can be observed in the centre of culture. This is because the microbes have the function, among others, of secreting chemical substances, more or less active, constituting veritable poisons for the bacillus that produced them. The substances which of late years have been studied under the name of ptomaines can be extracted from the liquid, sometimes in the shape of crystals suggesting those of the alkaloids drawn from various vegetables such as strychnine, digitaline, etc.

The liquid employed by Dr. Koch is perhaps only a concentrated solution of a special ptomaine, extracted from the culture of the tuberculous bacillus. The action of ptomaines injected under the skin of animals is generally slower than that which follows the injection of alkaloids. Dr. Koch's liquid injected in the same manner in man produces a variety of symptoms appearing only after four or five hours. This is perhaps an indication of what it is.

In this hypothesis the ptomaine injected consecutively during

several weeks into the system would modify the medium of growth of the tuberculous bacillus so as to check its development. The cells of the organism, finding no more obstacles, would regain strength. That would explain why the ptomaine injected efficaciously under the skin remains without effect when introduced through the digestive organs, as seems established in regard to the substance used by Dr. Koch. This difference of action does not exist in a similar degree in the case of metallic substances.

The future will soon teach us the truth about the nature and real value of the antidote used by the illustrious German professor, and if the hope we have cherished be not a vain one, we shall perceive before long how important, from a social and economical stand-point, the cure of tuberculosis is. We know that in the civilized world more than a million persons die annually in middle age, their lives being cut short by this terrible bacillus. From the results already obtained we may hope that all attacks of tuberculosis, pulmonary or other, can be checked, at least *in the beginning*.

The hospitals are full of patients attacked by different forms of tuberculosis; they lie there awaiting the coming—more or less slow—of death to deliver them. Thanks to Dr. Koch's discovery, these patients will soon be restored to activity.

Robert Koch deserves the praise of humanity.

PAUL GIBIER, M.D.

MORE TESTIMONY AGAINST "SHAKSPERE."

BY THE HON. IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

It was said of old that "whatever is is right." Modern philosophy does not go so far as that. It contents itself with asserting, with much emphasis, that whatever is *is*. And this creed it is ready to maintain against all comers.

The world's advance has been greatly hindered during many centuries by the unwillingness of mankind to perceive that the thing in fact might be very different from the received idea in the mind of man. Preconception dominated actuality. Truth had to be forced into the moulds of current belief.

Nor was this to be wondered at. Oftentimes the reality is, on the face of things, more unreasonable than the faith which it seeks to overthrow. There was, for instance, a time when, from the stand-point of the world's development, it appeared much more probable that the earth was held up by elephants, turtles, or eagles than that its tremendous weight was suspended on nothing. It appeared much more reasonable to suppose that it was a vast, placid plain, with the starry hosts marching around it for the delight and edification of man, than that it was a ball revolving upon its own axis at the inconceivable speed of more than one thousand miles an hour. It was reasonably argued that such an appalling rate of motion would pile the oceans into walls of water mountain-high, and send the inhabitants of the globe flying off into space like stones from a catapult. But when the facts were once

NOTE.—The manuscript of this article was accompanied by *fac similes* of the four pages of the original text of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 referred to in it. The editor finds it difficult, however, to reproduce these *fac similes*, but would state that a careful examination and comparison show that the statements made by Mr. Donnelly in the following pages, as to the position of the words *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacon—son* in the original text, are substantially correct.
—EDITOR N. A. REVIEW.

clearly established, however awful, however incredible, the pre-conceptions in the minds of men had to give way and adjust themselves to them ; and that was the end of the matter.

To the ordinary citizen of to-day the proposition that the great plays which go by the name of Shakespeare were written by another, and that they contain a cipher, interwoven in the text, asserting that fact—and much else, must appear as impossible, as unreasonable, as ridiculous, as the theory of the earth's sphericity and daily revolution did to the worthy people of the olden time. It cannot be believed, in this age of free thought, that any man could or would attempt to communicate with posterity by so laborious and secret a device as that of placing a historical narrative inside world-famous dramas. The thought is inconceivable : poetry without, biography within ; flowing verse and arithmetical adjustments ; every word of the highest flights of which the human soul is capable counted up like the leaves of a merchant's ledger ! The world refuses to accept anything of the kind. It denounces the idea with indignant clamor, which

"Conjures the wandering stars, and makes them stand
Like wonder-wounded hearers."

But softly, softly, good reader. The earth does turn on its axis ; and we do not fly off into space—although we may fly off into a great many ridiculous errors, for which the attraction of gravitation furnishes no remedy. Let us get back to our indisputable axiom,—“ whatever is *is*.” If there *is* a cipher in the plays, it avails nothing to furnish ten thousand most excellent and conclusive reasons why it should not be there. And wrath and fury signify nothing. If you tear your hair you do not stop the planet. The fact rules. It is a thing of eternity. Beliefs are but the dust-formed creations of time, and perish with the brains that hold them.

Remember that this is the nineteenth century—not the sixteenth. We breathe the sweet air of peace and liberty. It is difficult to realize the difference wrought in all things human by those three hundred years. It is difficult to bring before the mind's eye those cramped, dark, wicked, cruel days when Smithfield smoked with the flesh of martyrs, and the blood of patriots ran red on Tower Hill.

Oppression breeds secretiveness ; and secretiveness begets

hidden methods of communication. The persecuted human intelligence reaches past the torture-chamber and the headsman's block, to address itself to the coming ages. The ingenuity of man surmounts the brutal wrath of tyrants. Genius, through the cryptogram, makes its appeal to posterity.

And hence the vast literature of cipher-writing growing out of those dark days. We need not go back to the ciphers in Jeremiah and Isaiah (for which see the "Encyclopædia Britannica"), but, confining our attention to the middle ages, as they are called, we find the cryptogram playing an important part in the lives of kings and the destinies of nations. French scholars believe they have found a cipher story in the writings of Rabelais; and the elder Rossetti discovered one in the pages of Dante. Count Vitzthum von Eckstadt, in his recent remarkable work, "Shakespeare und Shakspeare," shows that the cipher was so universal at one time that it was even used in the external decoration of the Tuileries by Philip de l' Orme, and in the sculptures of the palaces of Francis I. and Henry II. Lord Bacon esteemed cipher-writing so highly that he wrote an essay upon the subject; he dignified it as "a part of grammar"; and he invented, we are told, "the most ingenious method and the most difficult to decipher of any yet contrived." He conceived the extraordinary design of a cipher within a cipher—the external harmless, the inner dangerous. If the writing fell under suspicion, the innocent cryptogram was exhibited, and the mind of watchful authority rested content, for it could not grasp the idea of such infinite subtlety.

But it is needless to do more than refer to these subjects. Let us come directly to some new proofs of the existence of a cipher in the Shakespeare plays.

A few words of explanation are, however, first necessary. I had noted in my book, "The Great Cryptogram," that on pages 53, 54, and 55 of the "Histories," in the First Folio, of 1623, the words *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son* occur. To one who does not closely consider the subject it may appear a little thing that this collocation of significant words should be found on three consecutive pages of this or any other work; but it is indeed most extraordinary. I challenged the scholars of the world to find another instance in which those words occur on three consecutive pages scattered through the text of any book, printed before or since 1623, where Francis Bacon or his father, Sir Nicho-

las, was not the subject-matter of the text. The challenge has not yet been answered. I had also noted in "The Great Cryptogram" that the word "*Bacon*" on page 53 was the 371st word from the top of the column on which it occurs; that there were on the same column seven words printed in italics; and that, if we multiplied the page, 53, by this number, 7, it gave us the number of the word "*Bacon*." In the same way there are on the first column of the next page, 54, twelve italic words; and 54 multiplied by 12 gives us 648; and the 648th word from the top of the same column (one of page 53) brings us to the word "*Nicholas*." And in the same way there are on the first column of page 67 six italic words; 67 multiplied by 6 gives us 402, and the 402d word is "*St. Albans*," the name of Bacon's place of residence. But while I set forth these facts in my book, I could not at that time proceed further; in fact, I concluded that these results were not parts of a cipher story, but that they were simply placed there as finger-marks on sign-boards, to direct some future investigator to the conclusion that the plays contained a cipher.

Since the publication of my book I have, however, devoted all my leisure time to further study of the plays. Thus engaged, it occurred to me that there must be some coherent rule linking together those significant words, *Francis—Bacon—Nicholas—Bacon—son*, by the same root-number or numbers, in a story of which I had found only two words—*Nicholas* and *Bacon*. The result of my studies was the astonishing discovery that every page of the play of "First Part of Henry Fourth" on which a scene begins—and presumably every other similar page throughout the whole of the First Folio—produces a continuous cipher story, elaborated by a root-number which is obtained by multiplying the number of the page by the number of italic words on the first column of the page. In other words, that the cipher narrative given in "The Great Cryptogram," growing out of page 76 (of "2d Henry IV."), multiplied by the number of bracketed words on column 74 (on which the scene begins), is but one of a series of cipher stories woven through the text of these extraordinary works.

The proposition, I am aware, appears incredible on its face, but it seems to me that, if it can be shown that those words, *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacon—son*, are each of them the 371st word from a few clearly-defined points of departure; and, again, that each of the same words is also the 648th word from

substantially the same points of departure, these results are so utterly beyond the domain of accident as to force the conviction on the mind of the world that this play unquestionably contains an arithmetical cipher, in which allusion is made to the great philosopher of Verulam. And if it is once conceded that the plays *do* contain such an internal narrative, it will then remain to ascertain what the cipher story tells, and to find out what *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacon—son* had to do with the composition of these plays which go by the name of Shakespeare. For it is self-evident that, as William Shakspeare died seven years before this 1623 Folio was printed, and as the cipher depends on the most careful proof-reading of the text, it could not have been threaded through these marvellous pages by the play-actor of Stratford, whose remains had been mouldering for years seventeen feet below the floor of the old church on the banks of the Avon.

In any event, the facts herein set forth are new to the world, and deserve the careful consideration of all thoughtful men.

Let us address ourselves to this demonstration.

We begin with page 53. There are, as I have shown, seven italic words on column one of that page, and if we multiply 53 by 7 we have 371. Now, this 371 becomes, as I have said, a root-number, by which a cipher story of thousands of words (a great part of which I have worked out) is told. To save space I shall employ abbreviations in the following statement, using, for instance, "col. 1, p. 53," for column one of page 53; where two or more words united by a hyphen or hyphens are counted not as one word, but as two or three, as the case may be, I shall use the sign "+ *hy.*"; where the bracketed words are counted, I shall indicate it by the symbol "+ *b.*"; and where both are counted by the sign "+ *hy. & b.*" Where no such symbols are used, the reader will understand that the count embraces only the spoken words of the text, exclusive of those in brackets, with the compound words, like "heigh-ho," "foot-land-rakers," etc., counted as one word each.

Let the reader number the words from the top of col. 1, p. 53, downward, and he will find, I repeat, that the 371st word is the word "*Bacon.*" The word "*Bacon*" occurs but four times in all the plays, and three of these instances are found on these two consecutive pages, 53 and 54. To make the word "*Bacon*"

the 371st word, eight different adjustments of the text had to be made. "In faith," the 19th word, had to be printed as one word; the word "he" had to be left out of the sentence, "Poor fellow, (he) never joyed," etc. Taking these eight "doctorings" of the text into consideration, there is, by the law of chances, but one chance out of many millions that the word "*Bacon*" would precisely correspond with the number of the page multiplied by the number of italics on the first column of the page.

Now, take that same number, 371, and as "*Bacon*" came from the top of col. 1, p. 53, let us take it to the top of col. 1, p. 54, and carry it through the eighteen words from the top of the second subdivision of the same (counting the first word of that second subdivision), and we have left 353; carry this number, 353, to the end of the same scene (col. 2, p. 54) and downwards through the twenty-four words which constitute the first subdivision of scene third, and thence through the second subdivision on col. 1, p. 55, and thence to the bottom of col. 2, p. 55, and advance upward, through the first subdivision of scene fourth, and the count (plus 1 *hy.*) brings us to the word "*Francis*." Here it will be perceived that 371 passes through the *first* subdivisions of scenes two, three, and four. And observe the alternate movement: "*Bacon*" is obtained by going *down* the column, "*Francis*" by going *up* the column,—thus:

53 × 7 = 371, top of col. 1, p. 54, upwards.....FRANCIS
53 × 7 = 371, top of col. 1, p. 53, downwards.....BACON

But after the cipher story told by 371 is exhausted, then new cipher-numbers are formed. How? The 1st col. of p. 53, is broken in half by the ending of act one and the beginning of act two. Above this point of junction there are 189 words; below it there are 269 words: the fragment of a word at the bottom, "gel," is not counted as a word, for it is not. There are, in these 269 words, four hyphenated words: if these are counted separately, then there are 273 words in that lower half of the column. If we take 371 and count upward through the 189 words, we have the number 182 left; if we count downwards through the 269 words, we have 102 left, or, counting in the four hyphenated words, 98. And these numbers, 182 and 102 (or 98), become the source, used alternately, and carried alternately up and down the columns, of another cipher narrative, of thousands of words, in which the names of "*Francis Bacon*," and his father, "*Sir*

Nicholas Bacon," are repeatedly used; the cipher being carried backwards and forwards from the ends of acts, scenes, and subdivisions of scenes, precisely as in the other cipher shown by me in "The Great Cryptogram."

Now, let us take that number, 98, and carry it, as we did the 371, to the end of scene second (p. 54), thence downward through the same twenty-four words, and we have 74 left; and this carried up again, from the end of col. 2, p. 55, brings us to the same word, "*Francis*," which was brought out by the number 371.

The alternate of 98 is 182. We took 98 to the beginning of scene three to obtain the word "*Francis*"; let us carry 182 to the beginning of scene one: we counted upwards to obtain "*Francis*"; let us now count downwards, and the 182d word is "*Bacon*"—the same 371st word which came out at the summons of the root-number 371. And let the reader note how the text is manipulated to bring in that word "*Francis*": the old saying is, "Tom, Dick, and Harry"; but here the author drops the word "Harry," and makes it read "Tom, Dick, and *Francis*"!

If we take the alternate, 182, and carry it through that same fraction of twenty-four words, we have left 158, and if we take that 158 down the same column on which "*Francis*" is found, we have the 158th word "*I*," "*I, Francis Bacon*,"—a very singular collocation to find arithmetically arranged in a Shakespearean play! Thus:

$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$	up	= 182	begin sc. 3	down	col. 55, 2 = 153, 55, 2.....	I
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 273$	down	= 98	begin sc. 3	up	col. 55, 2 = 447, 55, 2.....	FRANCIS
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$	up	= 182	begin sc. 1	down	col. 53, 1 = 371, 53, 1.....	BACON

But the writer of the cipher story refers repeatedly, at this point of his narrative, to his father, "Sir Nicholas"; not, perhaps, always in the set form, "*I, Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon's son*," but in one place speaking of himself, in another of his father. For instance, between the first word of the third scene and the end of the col. (54, 2) there are 23 words, not counting the clew word, "*He*." This 23 becomes the parent of new cipher-numbers which tell a long story. Thus $182 - 23 = 159$; $102 - 23 = 79$, or $98 - 23 = 75$; and these numbers, 159 and 79 or 75, alternately move up and down the columns, just as we found 182 and 102 or 98 alternating and moving. The number 79 carried through the fragment of 17 words at the top of col. 1, p.

54, leaves a remainder of 62 ; this is taken to the top of the last subdivision of the same column and (counting the top word) is carried upward + 2 *hy.* (that is, counting "heire-apparent-garters" as three words), and we reach the word "*son*," the 337th word on the column. This was obtained from the top of the last subdivision on col. 1, p. 54. Now, let us take the alternate number, 159, and starting from the bottom of the same subdivision, but not counting the last word, descend the preceding column (53, 2), and the 159th word is "*of*." We return to the number 79, and carry it up the next subdivision which follows, to wit, the 1st of col. 2, p. 54, and it brings us to the 45th word on the col., the word "*Sir*." We take again the alternate number and carry it through the same 17 words at the top of 54, 1, and we have 142 left. We proceed to the preceding column again, and descend from the top of the second subdivision on that column (+ *hy.* and *b.*), and the 142d word is "*Nicholas*." And so we have, moving in regular order, these results :

53×7=371-269 down=102-23=	79-17=62	top 4§, 54, 1	up=.....	SON
53×7=371-189 up	=182-23=159	top of col. 2, 53 down=.....		OF
53×7=371-269 down=102-23=	79	end 1§, 54, 2	up=	SIR
53×7=371-189 up	=182-23=159-17=142	top 2§ 53, 2	down+b.+hy.= ..	NICHOLAS

But let us go a little farther in this curious work. "*Nicholas*" was the 159th word ; we recur to 79 ; and as it has just produced "*Sir*" by going upwards from the end of the 1st subdivision of col. 2, p. 54, let us ascend from the end of the next subdivision of the same column with the same number, and it brings us to the word "*a*." Now we return to the count which produced "*Nicholas*." That was obtained by counting in both the bracketed and hyphenated words. Let us count the bracketed words, but treat the compound words as one word each, and the 142d word from the top of the 2nd § of 53, 2, is the word "*truly*." We obtained "*son*" by going to the top of § 4, 54, 1, with 79 — 17 = 62 ; let us return to it, and count in the 60 words contained in that subdivision, and we have two left ; now carry this two to the same point of departure which gave us "*Nicholas*" and "*truly*," the top of the 2d §, 53, 2, but count upward instead of downward, and the second word is "*great*." We recur again to 159 — 17 = 142, and carry it downward from the end of the same 1st § of 54, 2, which gave us "*Sir*," and it brings us to the word "*and*." We take the alternate number again, 79 — 17 = 62, and as we

obtained "*great*" by moving downwards from the top of the last § of 54, 1, and "*son*" by moving upwards from the same place (+ *hy.*), so if we leave out the additional hyphenated word, it brings us to the word "*good*"; while if we return to 159 — 17 = 142, and carry it down from the same point which produced "*Nicholas*" and "*truly*," but do not count either the bracketed or the additional hyphenated words, it brings us to the word "*man*." So we have :

$53 \times 7 = 371 - 269$, down,	$= 102 - 23 = 79$,	up.....	A
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$, up,	$= 182 - 23 = 159 - 17$,	down, + b.....	TRULY
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 269$, down,	$= 102 - 23 = 79 - 17 = 62$,	up.....	GREAT
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$, up,	$= 182 - 23 = 159 - 17 = 142$,	down.....	AND
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 269$, down,	$= 102 - 23 = 79 - 17 = 63$,	up.....	GOOD
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$, up,	$= 182 - 23 = 159 - 17 = 142$,	down.....	MAN

A careful study of these tables will show the minute accuracy of the work : the first word goes down from the starting-point and up to the terminal word ; the second goes up from the starting-point and down to the terminal word, and so on to the end. But if we had space we could go further. For instance, if we carry that 79 up col. 2, p. 53, it brings us to the word "*receit*"; while if we carry 159 — 17 = 142 down from the top of the column, it yields—counting or not counting the *hy.* or *b.*—the words "*with—him—marks—in—gold*." This refers to a receipt which Bacon had given Shakspeare for four hundred marks in gold, which Shakspeare had with him, the money being paid for Bacon's share of the profits of the plays ; and this "receipt," if found, would, Bacon feared, send him (Bacon) to the gallows. For instance, 182 — 17 = 165, and this 165 carried downward from the end of §1, 53, 2 (+2 *hy.*) brings us to the word "*gal-lows*"; while 142 (159 — 17 = 142) carried up from the end of the 3d §, 54, 1, brings us to the word "*hanged*." If the reader needs further proof that these numbers, 159, 102, 62, &c., are cipher-numbers, let him carry 102 up from the end of the 3rd § of 54, 2, and it will bring him to "*Bacons*"; while if taken upward from the preceding subdivision (+2 *hy.*), it yields the word "*Bacon*"; and carried down from the end of the 2d § of 54, 1, it produces the word "*son*"; while 62 (102 — 23 = 79 — 17 = 62) carried up from the end of the 3d § of 54, 2 (+1 *hy.*), gives us the same word "*Bacons*." And remember the word "*Bacon*" or "*Bacons*" occurs only four times in all the Shakespeare plays !

And Shakspeare is alluded to in the cipher as "a gorbellied rascal." The 182d word, col. 2, p. 54, is "*gorbellied*," and 102

carried up from the top of the 3d §, 54, 1, brings us to "*rascal*"; while the same 102 carried through the 17 at the top of 54, 1, and thence up the preceding column, gives us "*a*."

102 - 17 = 85	end col. 2, p. 53, <i>up</i>	395, p. 53, 2 = ...	A
182	top col. 2, p. 54, <i>down</i>	182, p. 54, 2 = ...	GORBELLIED
102	top 3 §, 54, 1, <i>up</i>	135, p. 54, 1 = ...	RASCAL

The fact that Shakspeare is alluded to in the cipher is also proved in a very curious way. I have shown elsewhere that the *J* in *Jack*, in that age, had the *sh* or *zh* sound found in "*jacquerie*" (see Webster), and it is used by Bacon to represent the first syllable of *Shak*-spere's name, for the Stratford man never wrote it "*Shake*-spere," but "*Shak*-spere." If we take the same root-number first used, 371, and carry it through the first subdivision of scene 1, act 1 (53, 1), containing 53 words, we have 318 left: now, take this to the end of col. 2, 54, and carry it upward (+ 3 *hy*.) and it brings us to *Jack*. This was derived from the first subdivision of scene one; now let us deduct 53 again, and then go to the first subdivision of scene two, the group of 17 words; this taken from 318 leaves 301; carry this down 52, 1 (+ 9 *b*.), and it brings us to the word "*speare*" (292, 52, 1). "*Jack*" is found two columns forward from the end of scene one, and "*speare*" is found two columns backward from the beginning of scene one. Thus we have:

371 - 53 = 318,	col. 2, p. 54 upward	+ <i>h</i> . = 69, p. 54, 2.....	JACK }
371 - 53 = 318 - 17 = 301,	col. 1, p. 52 downward	+ <i>b</i> . = 292, p. 52, 1.....	SPEARE }

But this significant word "*speare*" is so placed as to be used either from the top or bottom of the column on which it stands; it occurs but once in this play, and but eight times in all the plays.

If we take the same root-number, 371, to the end of scene two, and carry it down through those 24 words, it leaves 347; carry this down again from the end of §1, 55, 1, and we have 91 left; go to the beginning of scene four (55, 2), and again go downward, and we reach the 477th word—another "*Jack*."

Next go to the top of scene one (53, 1) and count upward, and we pass through 190 words, leaving 181; carry 181 up the same col. 1, p. 52, and it brings us to the same word "*speare*."

371 - 24, begin sc. 3 down = 347 - 256 = 91 + 386 = downward..477, p. 55, 2..	JACK }
371 - 190, begin sc. 1 = 181, up, 1, 52 = upward	292, p. 52, 1...SPEARE }

So that "*speare*" is the 371st word *up* the column and the 371st word *down* the column; and one "*Jack*" is the 371st word *up*

the column, and another "*Jack*" is the 371st word *down* the column; and "*Francis*" is the 371st word *down* the column, and "*Bacon*" the 371st word *up* the column; and the same "*Francis*" is the 371st word *up* the column, and the same "*Bacon*" is the 371st word *down* the column. The man who can believe that all this is accidental would, as Bacon himself says, believe that, by scattering the letters of the alphabet on the ground, they would by chance arrange themselves into the words of Homer's *Iliad*.

But this is not all. We multiplied 53 by the number of italic words on the first column of that page, and obtained the root-number 371. Let us treat page 54 similarly. There are 12 italic words on the first col. of p. 54; 54 multiplied by 12 gives us 648. We will now see that 648 brings out the same words, *Francis*—*Bacon*, and *Nicholas*—*Bacon*, and *Bacons*—*son*.

By counting from the top of col. 1, p. 53, we found that the 371st word was "*Bacon*"; let us continue the count and go down the next column, and we will find that the 648th word from the top of col. 1, p. 53, is the word "*Nicholas*"—the 189th word, col. 2, p. 53. The 371st word on the page is "*Bacon*"; the 648th word on the page is "*Nicholas*"!

Now, there are, on that first column of page 53, 458 words plus four hyphenated words, or 462 in all; count up the column, or, in other words, deduct 462 from 648 and we have left 186; carry this up from the end of col. 2, p. 54, and it brings us to "*Bacons*," the 198th word!

We have now got *Nicholas*—*Bacons* by a very simple process. We carried 648 through the first col., p. 53, and down the next col., and it gave us *Nicholas*. We carried it again through the same col. and up from the end of the next page, and we got the word *Bacons*. But where are the words *Sir* and *son*, which are necessary to give us the sentence, *Sir*—*Nicholas*—*Bacons*—*son*?

In the 2nd § and 3d § of p. 53, 1, there are (plus 3 *hy.*) 251 words. The cunning cryptographist counts in these 251 words, leaving 397, then skips another §, and counts in the 1st § of the 2d col. of the same page, 78 words (plus 2 *hy.*), and there are 319 left. Now we go again to the end of the next page (2, 54), but, instead of counting from the last word of the last § of that col., as we did to get *Bacons*, we count from the top word, inclusive, of that same §, upwards, plus 3 *hy.*, and we reach the 45th word

on the column, the word *Sir*. Once more we take that same remainder, 319, and count downward from the top of the 2d § of p. 54, col. 1, and the 319th word is the word *son*. Observe the regularity of the movement in the following :

54 × 12 = 648, down begin § 2, p. 53, 1, less 78 = 319; up from the top last §, 54,	
2 = 45th word, 54, 2.....	SIR
54 × 12 = 648, up from end col. 1, p. 53; down next col. = 189th word,	
53, 2.....	NICHOLAS
54 × 12 = 648, down from top § 1, p. 53; up from end col. 2, 54 = 198th word,	
54, 2.....	BACONS
54 × 12 = 648, up end § 3, 53, 1, less 78 = 319; down 2d §, 54, 2 = 337th word,	
54, 1.....	SON

Observe how the number 319 produces both *Sir* and *son*. Where the count goes *up* at the start it goes *down* at the end; and where it goes *down* at the start it goes *up* at the end. Could there be more perfect regularity?

If, again, we take 648 and start from the same point which produced the words "*son*" and "*Sir*," and carry that remainder, 319, through the 2d § of 55, 1 (plus 3 *hy.*), and then take the remainder, 61, to the top of scene 4th, 55, 2, and thence downward, we come to the same ubiquitous 447th word, "*Francis*."

Take 648 again and carry it through the last subdivision of scene second, containing sixty words, and then proceed backward through the eighteen words from the beginning of the second subdivision of the same scene to the top, and we have left 570; and this carried through the preceding column (53, 2) and up the first column of p. 53, counting the two hyphenated words on 1, 53, brings us to the word "*Bacon*." And so we have again, "*Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son*."

648, begin end 3d §, 53, 1, upward, through 2 §, 1, 55, downward = 447, 55, 2, FRANCIS
648, " top 5th §, 54, 2, downward, " 1 §, 1, 54, & 2, 53, upward = 371, 53, 1, BACON

That little fragment at the top of 1, 54, containing, to the top of the next subdivision, 18 words, produces, applied to the number 371, the words "*Francis Bacon*." Thus:

102-18= 84-23 (end 2, 54)=61, down from top sc. 4, 55, 2=447, 55, 2.....FRANCIS
182-18=164-76 (1st §, 53, 2)=88, up from end col. 1, 53=371, 53, 1.....BACON

We will find this group of 18 words performing similar service with 648. If we take 18 from 648, we have 630 left. This now becomes a subordinate root-number. We have just advanced up 54, 2, from the end of the 3d §; let us go up that column from the top of the 5th §, and we pass through 300 words; this de-

ducted from 630 leaves 330. We carry this through the 2d §, 55, 1, from the end of the 1st §, and this deducts 256 words, and leaves 74; and 74 carried up the following column, brings us to the same 447th word, "*Francis*."

Take 630 again and carry it through the first fragment of scene third, end of col. 2, p. 54, containing, after the first word of the scene, 23 words, and we have 607 left; count down through all of col. 2, p. 53, and we have 128 left; carry this downward from the top of the 3d § of 53, 1, and it brings us to the same 371st word, "*Bacon*."

Take 630 again to the same point of departure as in the last instance, the top of the first § of scene 3d (54, 2), but go up the column instead of down; there are 396 words on the column from that point; this leaves 234; the last word was carried to the 2d col., p. 53; we take the 234 there also, but go up the column instead of down, and we reach the 246th word, "*Sir*."

Take 630 again; descend col. 1, p. 53, to the top of the last § on the column; we pass through 441 (+ *hy.*); 441 from 630 leaves 189, and the 189th word is the word "*Nicholas*."

Take 630 again; go to the bottom of col. 1, p. 54 (the last word was from the top of col. 1, p. 53); we ascend the column (we descended col. 1, p. 53) to the end of the 1st § (we descended col. 1, 53, to the top of the last §), and we pass (+ *hy.*) over 443 words; 443 from 630 leaves 187; and 187 carried up the next column (+ *hy.*) brings us to the same 198th word, "*Bacons*." Observe the cunning of the workmanship: there are 438 words on col. 1, 53, from top of column to top of last §; there are 438 words on col. 1, 54, from the bottom of the column to the end of the first §. The difference in the results (189 and 187) is due to the fact that there are three hyphens on the one column and five on the other.

Take 630 again; carry it downward from the end of 1st §, scene one, and we pass over 216 words; 216 from 630 leaves 414; carry this to the next column forward to the top of 2 §, 53, 2; we pass over 77 words; 77 from 414 leaves 337, and the 337th word on the next column is the word *son*.

648 — 18 = 630	top § 5, 54, 2 up	55, 2	up	447, 55, 2.....	FRANCIS
648 — 18 = 630	top § 6, 54, 2 down	53, 2 and 1 down		371, 53, 1.....	BACON
648 — 18 = 630	top 6 §, 54, 2 up	53, 2	up	246, 53, 2.....	SIR
648 — 18 = 630	top col. 1, 53, down	53, 2	down	189, 53, 2.....	NICHOLAS
648 — 18 = 630	top last §, up	53, 1 up 54, 2 up		198, 54, 2.....	BACON'S
648 — 18 = 630	end § 1, 53, down	54, 1	down	337, 54, 1.....	SON

Lack of space prevents me from giving many other examples of the manifold adjustments of this text to the requirements of the cipher narrative. Remember that all these results are found on *three pages* of the Great Folio of 1623—the first collected edition of the plays. And remember that these words, *Bacon—Bacon—Bacon*, are not found on any other two pages of the plays. The only other time the word *Bacon* occurs is in "The Merry Wives of Windsor"; and there, by a strange coincidence, it is found on page 53 of the "Comedies," while the first *Bacon*, here referred to, is found on page 53 of the "Histories." This play of "1st Henry IV." is, perhaps, the most exquisitely-constructed piece of verbal mechanism in the world. To some readers all this—"up from end § 2, 1, 52," or "down from top § 3, 1, 54"—may appear a meaningless jumble of figures; those who follow and test the statements I have made will not, I trust, consider it such.

Certainly these plays have a thousand-fold more grasp on the minds of men to-day than they had in 1623; and when Macaulay's traveller from New Zealand sits on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, although the English language may have perished from the face of the earth, these writings we call Shakespeare's will still survive,

"In states unborn, in accents yet unknown."

Is it not worth while, then, to determine whether they were the careless, fountain-like outpourings of a rustic and untaught genius, "whose mind and heart went together with that easiness that we have scarce received a blot in his papers," as the play-actor publishers of the First Folio tell us; or whether this was all a mocking jest of the mighty spirit behind the mask, and they are, indeed, the results of massive scholarship and enormous industry; an unparalleled mosaic of cipher work, every word counted and adjusted, over and over again, to meet the mathematical exigencies of a marvellous internal narrative?

Let the indisputable facts set forth in this article help to answer this most important question.

IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

SHALL OUR DAUGHTERS HAVE DOWRIES?

BY C. S. MESSINGER, HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, AMELIA
E. BARR, MRS. HENRY WARD BEECHER, MARY A.
LIVERMORE, AND ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.

MR. MESSINGER:

THE average income in New York of young men from twenty-four to thirty years of age, in the superior mercantile professions, I have ascertained by careful inquiry to be about \$1,100 per annum; viz.:

In the larger trust companies, savings-banks, and national banks employing only a select number of clerks, some with double duties, about \$1,500; in national banks employing a large number of clerks, and in some private banking houses, about \$1,300; in life-insurance companies, \$1,200; in wholesale importing and domestic commission houses, dealing in silks, woollens, and goods for both men's and women's wear, about \$1,200; in other importing and commission houses dealing in produce, fruit, groceries, wool, leather, metals, dyes, and chemicals, about \$1,050; in the general wholesale trade in dry goods, clothing, food, hardware, jewelry, house furniture, building materials, paper, and drugs, in fire-insurance companies, and in brokers' offices, about \$900. I have made no account of the army of men employed in the retail establishments of the city.

In the professions of the law, of medicine, and of theology the average income at the marriageable age is insignificant. Young lawyers, doctors, and ministers must, as a rule, be supported by their parents until past the age of thirty. In the professions of teaching, of reporting, of writing for the press, and in the various departments of art and science, the average earnings of men at the age mentioned are below those of the principal mercantile

professions. It is from these chiefly that the corps of young husbands in the large cities is recruited.

It is not possible that salaries should be advanced. The class of men who in England are called "gentlemen's sons" is in this country innumerable. It furnishes many applicants for every vacancy. The chief positions of honor and profit in business houses are reserved for the sons of the partners. Colleges and scientific schools keep the supply of educated men also ahead of the demand in the walks of literature, art, and science.

"Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honor her, and go to house-keeping with her?" was the amendment of the marriage service proposed by a witty and practical divine; not, "Wilt thou live with her in her father's house?" or "in thy father's house?" but, "Wilt thou live with her in a house of thine own?"

To marry and to go to housekeeping on \$1,100 a year—that is the condition which confronts the young man of marriageable age in the city of New York. He begins his calculations with the items that regard most nearly his new relations; viz., his wife's allowance and the domicile in which her friends will see her settled. She has received heretofore from her father a stipend for dress and pocket-money of perhaps \$300 a year. The would-be husband feels that he is bound to continue that. He is himself obliged to dress in a manner befitting his daily intercourse with the better-dressed classes of business men. His memorandum begins:

Allowance to wife for dress and pocket-money.....	\$300
Allowance to self for same.....	300
Rent of apartment.....	400
Outings.....	100
	\$1,100

He stops. Where are diet, a servant, doctors' and dentists' bills, and repairs to come in? Social requirements are too much for him. He abandons all expectation of matrimony, and turns anew to the society of men. The marriage-rate is decreasing.

American fathers have a strong prejudice against providing their daughters with marriage settlements. "Let them begin as we did," they say. But in Edinburgh or Paris your friend remarks to you frankly: "I can afford only my modest style of living, because I must save for the marriage portions of my daughters." Is there any reason in the American prejudice? Is it fair treatment of the daughter of the house that she

should be guarded from every wind of heaven, lest it visit her face too roughly, be furnished with every appliance of comfort and ease, and on her wedding-day be thrust out penniless? Is it fair treatment of the expected husband that she should be habituated to live without work, and then be handed over to him with nothing she can call her own but a store of personal clothing and a parcel of bric-à-brac?

Dependence upon a husband is a very different thing from dependence upon a father. A young woman goes to her father for money with the trust and confidence of a young child. How is it when she goes to a husband for money? Be he ever so considerate, there is a painful shrinking on her part, particularly if she knows that his means are straightened. In truth, the two that have heretofore met as equals cease to do so. What equality can exist where one supplies all the means of subsistence and performs all the labor? A great injustice has been done to the young wife. The parents have brought her up to live without work; they ought also to have provided for her maintenance. This has been the rule in older communities, and it will probably become the rule in ours.

I am not discussing the question whether it would not have been better had she learned to work. That is not a practical one at present. Doubtless society will yet evolve a plan of house-work that will not be distasteful to young women—a method under which the heavier and ruder parts of the daily routine will be made lighter by association. Club kitchens and laundries, with effective machinery, will do the laborious part of the household service, and married women will find health and pleasure in the remainder.

Matrimony assumes a form in our communities which precludes the wife from being a helpmeet. It makes her a play-fellow for the hours of play, but a mere looker-on and idler in the hours of work. The labor in the house is performed by servants. The duty of superintendence which the *châtelaine* found no sinecure in former days on the plantation, or in the city house where clerks and apprentices lodged with the master, is a trivial affair in an apartment measuring sixty feet by twenty.

This doing nothing is not the fault of the young wife. She is the victim of circumstances and of Mrs. Grundy. The husband cannot afford a larger abode, and Mrs. Grundy forbids her to dispense with servants. As a resource against absolute idle-

ness she takes to sewing. If she is of a healthy temperament and lack of exercise does not depress her spirits, she is a delightful companion for her husband in leisure hours, and he thanks God for her. Nevertheless, it is he that is bearing the burden of the day, and she is not permitted by custom to share it with him.

Under these circumstances, would it not be well for her to be relieved of the pain of dependence ? "If I cannot help," she would be glad to say, "I do not hinder. I wish I could be of greater use ; but if my sphere is necessarily contracted, I can at least do my part well, and my husband cannot feel that my bed and board are any drawback to his prosperity." This she is now able to say in those communities where the custom of the dowry exists. Ought not that custom to be established in America ?

Of ten of my intimate acquaintances who have died in early middle age nine were men, and nearly all were victims of the strain which a mercantile life puts upon the brain and vital force of the bread-winners. Two of them died instantly of brain disease, two by their own hands in sudden insanity, the others prematurely worn out ; all of them in the prime of life, and surrounded by a fair degree of material prosperity, and by families who never knew by what stretch of nerve and expenditure of vital power that material prosperity was achieved. It may seem an anti-climax to ask if dowries for their wives would have prolonged the lives of those men. Nevertheless, that question should probably be answered in the affirmative. The greatest strain upon such devoted husbands and fathers is during the earliest days of manhood, when the possession of some security against accident or sickness would have been a greater relief than much larger possessions in later years.

It is not earning the money that kills ; it is the anxiety about the future, the dread of being invalided without means of support, of leaving wife or child penniless. This anxiety often becomes morbid at last.

An acquaintance of mine, receiving a liberal salary and spending it all, has often walked the street for an hour on approaching home, delayed by an insane dread of meeting the loved ones who were dependent on his ability to continue the daily round. Would a wife's dowry of a few hundreds a year have prevented this form of insanity ? Yes ! Had there been such a provision behind the early years of my friend's married life the

degeneration of his nervous system might never have begun. He would have borne his arduous task lightly. I repeat, it is not the pace that kills ; it is the anxiety.

Life insurance, with all its beneficence, is largely the sign of an anxious, perturbed business community. Are the premiums paid by the fore-handed and thrifty ? Not so ; they are paid in the greater proportion by the anxious and overburdened. This is why life insurance prevails so much more extensively in this country than in England, Germany, or France. It is because New York is the most unhappy city on the face of the earth that life insurance has there its headquarters and its greatest development. It is the sign of a shifting and uncertain foundation for the family. Despairing of ever attaining to the security of a moderate competence, the father strains a point to provide something for his dependents in case of his death. For long sickness or disability there is but slight provision made ; and as a matter of fact the men who die suddenly of the strain outnumber many times those who are retired for a long period of sickness.

Americans know less than men of any other race the comfort of pecuniary ease. We are a nation of spendthrifts, and consequently a nation of worried, dyspeptic men. There is but little real cheer among us. There is the enjoyment of high intelligence, of the intercourse of keen quick minds ; there is unfathomable kindness ; but there is not cheerfulness, and there is not repose. Care is the chemical which precipitates all cheer to the bottom of the cup, and leaves it either insipid or positively bitter.

"Amuse yourselves more," say the lay preachers. "See the people of other countries : how much time they take for recreation." Yes, but they are not living on the brink of dependence. The mother has a steady income from the dowry she received at her marriage. The father has savings ready to endow his own daughter. There is security underneath them, and they can amuse themselves without care.

When once it is accepted as fashionable to supply daughters with dowries of money rather than of knick-knacks, the open acknowledgement of economy will become common, and in a certain degree saving will become fashionable. The moment that saving becomes fashionable, its practicability will have been established. The slaving of the bread-winners is not for bread, but for display. President Eliot says it is practicable for a student

to subsist at Cambridge on \$150 a year, exclusive of tuition and the long vacation.

Dress and food never cost so little, absolutely, per yard or pound as they do to-day. There is not the least physical necessity for the enormous pressure of family expenses under which the community staggers. The difficulty is purely one of insane imitation and competition. If the daughter has found a corsage bouquet of hot-house roses at her plate when dining out, no consideration for her father's purse restrains her from providing the same for her own guests. "Is it her fault that flowers are dear in cold weather?"

When it comes to be understood by the members of the household that saving brings them, not out of the pale, but within the pale, of those called the upper classes, then it will be easy to live.

To-day not more than one family in twenty is free from constant anxiety about money matters. Reverse the proportion, and let nineteen families in twenty have the comfort of solid savings to rely upon, and figure the increase of cheerfulness. It is a disgrace to the national character that Americans permit themselves to be weighed down by unnecessary expenditure. Ninety-five per cent. of the husbands and fathers of New York city are in a state of constant anxiety. One has only to compare the happiness of society in the smaller collegiate towns like Hanover, Amherst, Princeton, or Ithaca, with the unhappiness of the great cities, to comprehend how comfortable it is to be moderate in outgoes. In those towns the rate of expenditure is fixed by the average salaries of the college professors, who lead in society and commonly set the pace at which not only ease but accumulation of savings will be attained.

The rule of saving for daughters' dowries, having been established in the older households, would descend with all its beneficence to the younger. "We must begin to save for Dorothy's dowry," would be one of the first things said after the advent of the new daughter, and the reign of ease and cheerfulness in that house would begin.

It was reported in the newspapers that Mr. William Astor, on the marriage of his daughters, made the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company the trustee of their marriage portions—an example worthy of careful note. It is not necessary or desirable that such trusts should be vested in individuals. There does not exist in

this country a class of solid proprietors whose history and comparative leisure fit them for trusteeships. These should be confined to trust companies of sufficient capital, doing the business for gain. Nothing could be easier or more secure than the current method of dealing with such companies. A father desiring to secure the interest of, say, \$6,000 to a married daughter, passes that sum over to the trust company irrevocably, but upon trust nevertheless, to invest it during the life of the daughter on bond and mortgage on improved city property, and to pay the interest on the same to her during her life, and transfer the principal at her death to her children or heirs-at-law. At the current rate of interest on small loans the company collects 5 per cent. interest on the fund, amounting to \$300 per annum, on which it charges a commission of 5 per cent., making the return to the beneficiary \$285.

The fact that the trust is made irrevocable forestalls any possible question in the future as to whether the husband may have the use of the capital in his business. Money given to the wife in her own name at the time of her marriage has often been turned over to the husband at a later date, to help him through pecuniary straits, or, if not, has been the cause of estrangement between wife and husband; whereas, had the same property been invested permanently in a trust, the question of diversion could never have arisen.

A plea for the dowry becomes a plea for a change in the habits of the American community that would decrease its cares and increase its happiness many fold. The difference between nineteen families in twenty living fully up to their means and the same proportion living within their means is, in respect to comfort and cheer, almost inconceivable.

C. S. MESSINGER.

MRS. SPOFFORD:

DESIRABLE as it may seem that daughters should have dowries, and forcibly as the affirmative has been presented in Mr. Messinger's brief, it may still be seen that the question travels in a vicious circle. Where there is not enough money to live on without fatal strain, there is not sufficient to save a dowry from; the people who cannot live on the average salary now cannot save out of that salary the money which shall help other people

to live in the future. "*Pour filer, il faut manger ; pour manger, il faut filer.*"

It is not by any means a simple question, but one involving high moralities and even some political considerations. It would surely be a lofty altruism that would make a man pinch and deny himself, where it might be possible for him to do so, in order that another man, a future son-in-law, should have less necessity to pinch and deny himself. It is not, however, in view of the father's love for his daughter and his often unspeakable tenderness towards her, an impossible or an unusual course. And wherever the sufficient amount of money is in hand, spared or accumulated by parental deprivation or effort, or inherited in the beginning, it would not be difficult to persuade parents to create the trust fund for the benefit of their daughters, instead of keeping it in possession till death made division.

But where the family income is already narrow, it is not easy to conjecture a surer method of establishing a system of social caste than by the acceptance of this necessity of saving from the income the sum sufficient for a dowry. It would exact a rigid economy, of a sort to which no one in this country has been accustomed ; *soupe maigre* would take the place of the generous roast and steak, and a low and spare diet would create in time an undersized and ill-developed race. The children of the family would be forced to forego the luxuries and pleasures enjoyed by the children of families where the economy was not obligatory ; their clothing would have to be so different that they would be mortified if associated with the children dressed in purple and fine linen ; their experiences, their habits, would be dissimilar, and would naturally separate them ; they would have to resort to schools where cheaper teachers were employed ; they would have to go without the costly accomplishments ; many delicate usages would be unknown to them ; they would become a middle class as entirely apart from those of ampler means and less economies as if living in a land where there was an aristocracy of birth.

There would be, then, an impregnable barrier of habits, manners, and views formed between classes—a barrier which in the wide interchangeability of to-day does not exist. Surely this would be a poor outcome of our commonwealth. Better than this are the strain and struggle under which a few succumb, but with which all have had the opportunity of rising to the best the

day affords under our present interfluent social order. In a civilization which reckons many things better worth than money, the father who gives his children the best education and accomplishments of the time feels that he has done far more for them than if he had saved a sum of money for a marriage settlement, and left them half-educated and all unaccomplished. And it is true; he has done far more for them, and far more for the race as well. If he is himself destroyed in doing it, he should have thought of that earlier. Perhaps that is his destiny; his part in the evolution of species. There is a certain little creature that, laying her eggs on a stem, spreads herself over them and hatches them by the warmth of her body; whereupon they devour her. There are few mothers among ourselves who do not abandon themselves to a similar fate. Why should the fathers go scot-free? And if the daughters are to have a dowry, what injustice would refuse the sons a business capital? And with that sum also to be pinched out of the inelastic income, what is to become of either father or mother?

If, however, the dowry is impossible, and the husband must still live under the pressure of struggle and strain, the fact remains that it is not to be wished that life should be without struggle. It is only by feeling a want intensely, by reaching out with all existing force to satisfy that want, that the new organ comes into being. It is through struggle that the creeping thing at last becomes the winged creature. It is the effort of this aspiring father which has placed the multitude of moneyless American girls on the plane of manners, thought, and learning that once might be occupied only by royal women and their kind, which has raised a great fraction of humanity in effect from peasantry to princedom, and to a higher than princedom.

It is through a still wider emancipation of women from the harem that the relief of the husband and father of the future is to be found, rather than in the provision of dowry. Through the recognition of the dignity of self-support, through the increasing accessibility of professions and crafts, and the occupations of trade, through the growing conviction that it is dishonorable to be supported by the labor of another and that every girl should be reared to take care of herself, is the burden to be lifted from the aching shoulders that now carry it. When all these daughters have been made self-supporting, it is in the probabilities that the

greater number of them will scorn to become a dead-weight on a husband's hands, and will continue their work after marriage, whenever possible. If the actress who marries and becomes the mother of children does not find it necessary to leave her business, no other healthy woman need do so, except upon occasion.

Doubtless, as the demand enforces it, the associated kitchen and kindred alleviations of domestic life will give a wife the command of much more time than she now has for outside work ; while, on the other hand, the general shortening of the hours of labor abroad will give her more time for her duties at home. When our girls have, one and all, rich and poor, found that a bee is as happy as a butterfly, that there are health and joy and honor in work, they will not be willing to relinquish its power or its emoluments, and will hardly know what to do with a dowry if they have one ; and parents meanwhile may hold that, in giving their daughters equal opportunities with their own, widening, perhaps, with the growth of all things, they have given something even better than the dowry that Pharaoh gave his daughter when he tossed her a city for a plaything. On the whole, is it not possible that, instead of being a benefit to women, the provision of a dowry would but forge another link in their fetters ?

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD.

MRS. BARR:

THOSE who occupy themselves reading that writing on the wall which we call "signs of the times" may ponder awhile the question which Mr. Messinger puts with such plaintive appeal to the parents of this generation—"Shall our daughters have dowries ?" But in the very commencement of his argument, he abandons the case he has voluntarily taken up, and enters a plea, not for the daughters, but for the young men who may wish to marry the daughters. Also in urging upon parents the duty of endowing their daughters he seems to have lost sight of the fact that "dowry," in its very spirit and intention, does not propose to care for the husband, but is solely in the interest of the wife.

He asserts, doubtless with accuracy, that the average income of young men is \$1,100 a year, and he finds in this fact a sufficient reason for the decrease of marriage among them. It is no reason at all ; for a large and sensible proportion of young men do marry and live happily and respectably on \$1,100 a year, and

those who cannot do so are very clearly portrayed by Mr. Messinger, and very little respected by any sensible young woman.

But it is not to be believed that they form any preponderating or influential part of that army of young men who are the tomorrow of our great republic. Let any reader count, from such young men as are known to him, the number who would divide their \$1,100 as Mr. Messinger supposes them to do :

Dress for self and wife.....	\$500
Apartment.....	400
Amusements.....	100

I venture to say the proportion would be very small indeed.

For the majority of young men know that nothing worth having is lost in the sharing. They meet in their own circle some modest, home-making girl whom they love so truly that they can tell her exactly what their income is, and then they find out that their own ideas of economy were crude and extravagant compared with the wondrous ways and means which reveal themselves to a loving woman's comprehension of the subject. The Oranges, Rutherford, and every suburb of New York are full of pretty little homes supported without worry, and with infinite happiness, upon \$1,100 a year, and perhaps, indeed, upon less money.

The difficulty with the class of young men whose case Mr. Messinger pleads is one deserving of no sympathy. It is a difficulty evoked by vanity and self-conceit, of which Fashion and Mrs. Grundy are the bugbears. Why should a young man capable of only making \$1,100 a year expect to marry a girl whose parents are rich enough to guard her "from every wind of heaven, lest it visit her face too roughly" ? "Is it fair treatment of the expected husband," Mr. Messinger asks, that a girl "should be habituated to live without work and then be handed over" to her husband with nothing but her clothing and bric-à-brac ? Yes, it is quite fair treatment. If the husband with his \$1,100 a year elects to marry a girl not habituated to work, he does it of his own choice : the father of the girl is probably not at all desirous of his alliance ; then why should the father deprive himself of the results of his own labor and economy to undo the folly and vanity of the young man's selection ? As for the girl, if she has deliberately preferred her lover to her father, mother, home, and to all the advantages of wealth, she has the desire of her heart. It may be quite fair that she should have this desire, but it may be very unfair that her father, mother, and perhaps her brothers and sisters,

should be robbed to make her desire less self-sacrificing to her. For if the young man with his poverty is acceptable to both the daughter and her parents, the latter may be safely trusted to do all that is right in the circumstances.

The most objectionable part of Mr. Messinger's argument is the servile and mercenary aspect in which it places marriage. "What equality can exist," he asks, "where one [the man] supplies all the means of subsistence and performs all the labor?" That a husband should provide the means of subsistence is the very Magna Charta of honorable marriage; and nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of a thousand so accept it. It is the precise point on which all true husbands feel the most keenly sensitive. They want no other man—no matter what his relationship or friendship—to support their wives. And under no circumstances does the husband perform all the labor resulting from a marriage. That he may be a true man, a father and a citizen, it is necessary that he have a home; and in the care of the home, in the bringing-forth and the bringing-up of the family, in the constant demands upon her love and sympathy, the wife performs a never-ceasing multitude of duties that tax her heart and her body in every direction—a labor of love in comparison with which her husband's daily routine over his "entries" or his "orders" is a trifling drain of vitality. For a wife and mother must keep every faculty and feeling "at attention"; but a clerk over his ledger keeps a dozen faculties on the premises to do the work of one. And in behalf of all true and trusted wives I deny in totality the idea that they go to their husbands with "painful shrinking" for the money necessary to carry on the mutual home, or that there is in any beloved wife's heart the most fleeting thought of "dependence." Mr. Messinger does a great and shameful wrong to the majority of husbands and wives by such an assertion.

Indeed, this gentleman's experience seems to have been an unusually sad one, nine out of ten of his friends having died in early middle age from the undue expenditure of nerve and vital force in their efforts to provide for their families in what they doubtless considered a suitable manner; and he evidently thinks that if their wives had been dowered this result would probably have been averted. It is extremely improbable. The wife's small income would far more likely have led to a still more ex-

travagant way of living ; for the genius of the American is to live for to-day and take care for the morrow when the morrow comes.

In many respects it is the genius of the age. Old forms of thought and action are in a state of transition. No one can tell what to-morrow may bring forth. The social conditions which inspired the fathers of the past to save for their posterity are passing away ; and I speak from knowledge when I assert that they were often conditions of domestic misery and wrong, and that growing children suffered much under them. Suppose a father has two daughters and three sons : must he curtail the daughters in the education and pleasures of their youth, must he limit the three boys at home and at college, in order to give a sum of money to some unknown young man who will doubtless vow that his daughter's heart and person are more than all the world to him ? If she be not more than all the world to him, he has no right to marry her ; and if she be, what can be added to a gift so precious ?

The tendency of the time is to dishonor marriage in every way ; but the deepest wrong, the most degrading element that can be introduced, is to make it dependent upon dowries or any other financial consideration. We must remember also that in England, where dowry has been a custom, it was one not particularly affecting those classes whose daughters are likely to marry clerks upon small salaries. It was the provision made by landed gentry for their daughters, and they exacted in return an equally suitable settlement from the expectant husband. If the father gave a sum of money to the bride, the bridegroom generally gave the dower-house, with the furniture, silver, linen, etc., which would make it a proper home for her widowhood. Many a marriage has been broken off because the bridegroom would not make such settlements as the father considered the dower demanded.

Mr. Messinger acknowledges that the cost of living was never so small as at this day, and that the difficulty in the way of young men marrying is "purely one of insane imitation and competition." But there is no necessity for this insane competition ; and why provide an unusual and special remedy for what is purely optional ? Nobody compels the young husband to live as if his income was \$11,000 instead of \$1,100. Of his own free will he sacrifices his life to his vanity, and there is no justice in attempting his relief by dowering his perhaps equally guilty wife out of the results of another man's industry and economy.

Dowry is an antiquated provision for daughters, behind the genius of the age, incompatible with the dignity of American men and the intelligence and freedom of American women. Besides, there are very likely to be two, three, four, or more daughters in a house: how could a man of moderate means save for all of them? And what would become of the sons? The father who gives his children a loving, sensible mother, who provides them with a comfortable home, and who educates fully all their special faculties, and teaches them the cunning in their ten fingers, dowers his daughters far better than if he gave them money. He has funded for them a provision that neither a bad husband nor an evil fate can squander. He has done his full duty, and every good girl will thankfully so accept it.

As for the young men who could imagine themselves spending, out of \$1,100, \$700 upon dress and amusements, neither the world, nor any sensible woman in it, will be the worse for their celibacy. For if they take a wife, it will doubtless be some would-be stylish, foolish virgin, whose soft hands are of no earthly use except as ring-stands and glove-stretchers. It is such marriages that are failures. It is in such pretentious homes that love and moderate means cannot live happily together. It is in such weak hands that Pandora's box shuts, not on hope, but on despair.

The brave, sensible youth does not fear to face life and all its obligations on \$1,100 a year. With love it is enough to begin with. Hope, ambition, industry, good fortune, are his sureties for the future. However well educated he may be, he knows that in his own class he will find lovely women equally well educated. They may be teaching, clerking, sewing, but they are his peers. He has no idea of marrying a young lady accustomed to servants and luxury, and the question of dower never occurs to him. The good girl who supplements his industry by her economy, who cheers him with her sympathy, who shares all his thoughts and feelings, and crowns his life with love and consolation, has all the dowry he wants. And this is an opinion founded on a long life of observation—an opinion that fire cannot burn out of me.

AMELIA E. BARR.

MRS. BEECHER:

WHY should not our daughters have dowries, if the father is able to give them? A dowry might be a very pleasant thing to have, if the love a lady gives her husband when she marries objects

to a separate purse, as well as a separate interest in everything else. If a father can thus provide for his daughter without injustice to the other members of his family, it might be for several reasons desirable. If her husband has ample means, there is no reason why the wife should not retain her dowry independently, *if she wishes*. But then the husband has said, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," and the wife accepts this endowment. Having done so, does it not seem a little *mean* for her to keep her dowry for her own individual use? They are now *both one*. "What is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine." If that is the truth, and not uttered as a jest, what more natural than for the wife to propose that her dowry be carefully invested—in her own name, if thought advisable—as a kind of "nest-egg," to be used in case misfortune (to which all are liable) should cripple *their* resources? Then this reserved fund might be the means of warding off entire failure, and enable them to regain their former position.

Would not this give a good wife more true happiness than she could obtain by using her dowry independently—perhaps extravagantly—for her own selfish pleasures?

True, the maiden may have given her love before she knew the true character of her lover, and after marriage may find, too late, that he is unworthy. Then her dowry, if retained in her own right, might be the means of saving her from want; but far more to be dreaded than want might also be the temptation to cruelty and abuse from her husband through his efforts to gain possession of it. But so far this refers only to people of wealth. Let us look now in the opposite direction.

A young man is in business, or employed in a position which brings him \$1,000 or \$1,200 a year. He loves a maiden whose father *cannot* do more for her than furnish a wedding outfit; perhaps even that is beyond his ability. The lover makes an estimate of what will be his probable expenses if he marries. Should he be governed by the estimate which is made by some who are interested in this particular subject, he will find that the lowest terms given—\$300 a year for his wife, \$300 a year for himself, \$400 for apartments, and \$100 for outings—run far beyond the expense he would dare incur.

But \$300 for each, or \$600 a year for both, is far too large a sum to be taken from a limited income, and more than is neces-

sary to insure real happiness. We have known as happy homes as the sun ever shone upon secured by \$300 *a year for all expenses*, rent of apartments included, with perhaps a little added by some extra sewing or one or two boarders, if an apartment can be spared. As for \$100 a year for "*outings*," that is absurd.

It is also said that, "where the wife has no dowry, if the husband is ever so considerate, there must be a painful shrinking on the wife's part from asking him for anything, knowing that his means are limited. In truth, the two who before marriage meet as equals, after marriage, in such cases, must cease to be so."

This is shocking; and if true, farewell to all efforts to build up a *home*! Why should the wife shrink from asking her husband for what she needs, if she knows he can afford to supply it, or wish for what she knows he cannot? Are they not *both one*? As well tell us that *one hand* will shrink from asking aid of the other.

But it is asked, "How on the husband's limited income, without the wife's dowry, can they live respectably or comfortably?" *By working together*—he outside, in the business world, to earn the money; she at home, keeping house with strict, but not miserly, economy.

Again it is said that "matrimony assumes forms in our American community which prevent the wife from being the helpmeet; she can only be the play-fellow for her husband in his hours of leisure; but an idler in the hours he must give to toil for their support. This through no fault of the wife; she is the victim of circumstances and of Mrs. Grundy."

Fortunately, we have no acquaintance with Mrs. Grundy, and have neither fear nor respect for her. Why should the wife be idle and useless, when she has strength and ability to aid her husband, through any fear of so mythical a personage as Mrs. Grundy? "Oh, she would be tabooed in all good society if she did such work. Mrs. Grundy would make it impossible for her to associate with people of refinement."

No! No! We speak that which we do know; we testify to that which we have seen—and done. No woman with good manners and reasonable intellectual culture, who can from the simplest and cheapest materials dress neatly and becomingly (and that is not hard to do), need fear reproach from any in the very best society, even if known to do all her work without the aid of a

single servant. We do not say the gayest or most fashionable society. That is not the best, and with that class she has nothing to do.

But again we are told that "many men who on a limited salary venture to marry girls without a dowry wear themselves out, break down and die, or become insane, long before they reach middle age, from the stretch of nerve and expenditure of vital force in their efforts to support their families." In reply to the question, Would a dowry with the wife have averted this calamity? the answer given is: "Yes! Had there been such provision behind the early years of such a man's married life, he could have borne his arduous task lightly." If a man slaves to insure a very unsatisfactory position for his family, and through such ambition and overexertion "becomes insane or dies," as this theory prophesies, what then will Mrs. Grundy say? This will reveal at once to her malicious eyes the very facts he was killing himself to hide! It becomes difficult to pity one so weak and foolish.

Oh, tread such pride under your feet! Let every true-hearted woman give to her husband all the help, manual or intellectual, that their circumstances require. If her father gives the dowry, large or small, thank God for it, and save or use it together, when most needed, for the best good of both and the children God may give them. Let every wife do her duty to husband and children, whatever it may be, while her husband does his in providing the means to make a happy home for them all; and with God's blessing on her efforts there can be no danger that she will not command the best of such society as she finds congenial.

We are told that "the marriage-rate is decreasing because there is so large a proportion of men who wish to marry, but cannot, because the intended father-in-law has not the means to give his daughter a dowry." If such a settlement for the bride is the only sure preventive against the husband's failure by overwork, then it may be that the marriage-rate is decreasing. But we believe there are quite as many happy marriages and true homes among those who take a wife without a dowry as among those whose wives have large dowries—if, indeed, there are not more. Wives having none can aid their husbands by keeping house *themselves*,—*not having it kept for them*,—and they have less cause to fear failure for their husbands, either from overexertion or pecuniary loss.

Of course there must be many who, by sickness, accidents,

heavy losses, or bad investments, or failure of others, may sink into deepest poverty and end by insanity or death, and some may say: "If my wife had brought a dowry, all this would never have happened." Very doubtful. But all this happens quite as often to those whose wives come to them with rich dowries as to those who, with no such endowment to fall back upon, have joined heart and hand to work together with their husbands for the best interests of both, quite fearless and independent of fashion or the censure of Mrs. Grundy.

MRS. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

MRS. LIVERMORE:

THE evil which is the burden of Mr. Messinger's article, and which the author proposes to remedy by giving dowries to daughters at marriage, is by no means general. It cannot be denied that a very large proportion of the marriageable young men of the day are limited to small incomes, and that, as matters go, there is little prospect of their being increased. It must also be admitted that their incomes, in most cases, are still further reduced by habits the reverse of economical. For the majority of the young men of the time have come to regard cigars, ale, beer, or some like beverage, as an indispensable necessary of life.

Add to these the occasional game of billiards, the annual vacation trip, an expensive evening now and then at the opera or theatre, in which most young men indulge nowadays, and it can be readily understood that the thought of marriage appals them. The mental and moral fibre becomes weakened by selfish indulgence, and it is not strange that a dowried wife should suggest itself as the only remedy.

It is also true that in certain city circles there is a large class of young women who are "brought up to live without work" by unwise parents and guardians, whose outfit for life consists in a smattering of accomplishments by which they can never earn a penny, who are ignorant of housekeeping and of the imperative practical affairs of family life, and who are reared in indolent and extravagant habits. Pretty and graceful, well-dressed and pleasing, they find their way into the social swim, work hard at doing nothing for a few years, and then are married. Parents who are guilty of rearing such useless daughters should give them dowries, as a matter of justice, and in reparation of their neglect.

But why should a young man of small means marry so useless a woman? The act is voluntary on his part: he is not compelled to do so. The majority of American young women are of higher grade; they are useful and valuable. The last quarter of a century has wrought a marvellous transformation among the women of our country, and the good work is still progressing. A conviction has taken root in our best communities that a girl is not thoroughly equipped for life whose industrial education has been neglected, let her other accomplishments be what they may.

And in response to this new creed the doors of professions, trades, businesses, industries, and salaried positions have been opened to women on a large scale during the last twenty years. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the National Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, reports the number of professions, trades, and occupations in which women are working at the present time as 342.

A young man of slender income can marry a portionless girl to-day who will bring him a dowry in her educated head and hands, in her knowledge of some vocation or handicraft by which she has supported herself, in a cultivated character and a habitual self-poise which are the outcome of her large education and developed independence. She will become what a wife is designed to be—not a pretty plaything, an automatic, well-dressed doll; but a helpmeet, a comrade, an unfailing friend, a loyal, faithful wife.

She will wear the beauty that comes from self-respect and intelligence, while occupation and interest in life will give her peace, which is a diviner thing than happiness. She may not care very much for Mrs. Grundy or her demands, nor will she be likely to enter into “insane imitation and competition” with those higher than herself in the social scale. She has learned the worth of money, and has resources in herself.

I know one young wife, whose small house is prettily furnished and fastidiously kept by herself, who makes \$25 a month by crocheting for a fancy store. Another, whom I employ as a type-writer, and who is an expert in the business, averages \$4 a week. I know another whose manufacture of artistic novelties for the holiday trade yields her about \$250 a year. I am, while writing, the guest of a young wife who, by decorative art, makes nearly as much money annually as her husband. She employs a servant to do the housework; the others do not. I know many others who fulfil their duties as wives, mothers, and

housekeepers, and yet earn more or less by journalistic or literary work, by teaching, copying, as stenographers, workers in hair, book-keepers, designers, painters, and in other occupations. One young wife earns money by the home manufacture and sale of cosmetics that are free from deleterious or poisonous ingredients. All our young women at the present time are not "brought up to live without work," nor do they become in marriage, "mere lookers-on and idlers."

If it were possible, it would undoubtedly be a great help to the young married couple if the father could always bestow a dowry on the bride. Throughout New England, whenever the parents can afford it, they give the daughter at marriage a furnished house, which is a dowry in itself, as it saves to the husband the paying of rent. It deprives the wife of money of her own unless the husband compensates her in his allowance. In the cases quoted in the leading article in this series there is no possibility of dowries for marriageable daughters.

The parents live steadily up to the full amount of their income in the senseless struggle to compete with "the higher classes." And to save money enough to portion one or two daughters at marriage, who are reared in elegant idleness and extravagance, deplorable ignorance and inefficiency, is simply an impossibility. It cannot be done. The daughters must be trained to self-support, to stand on their own feet, that the parents may be relieved of their terribly dead weight. They must receive a moral culture that will lead them "to have consideration for the purse of the over-taxed father," and to diminish his burdens by taking some of them to their own young, vigorous shoulders.

To inaugurate an economical fashion is well ; only let it be one of prevention, not of cure. To rear a girl in absolute dependence, good for nothing, selfish in her aims, and exacting in her demands, is a sin against the daughter, and against society. To begin at her birth to economize and retrench in every department for the accumulation of money, that this monstrous perversion of her life may be accomplished and maintained, is grotesque and heathenish. Girls thus trained will fail of attaining a high order of womanhood. Their aims will be petty, their ideals low, and nothing very excellent can be expected of them in wifehood or motherhood.

Let the reform already inaugurated be made fashionable and be carried on. Let us begin a system of economy that will prevent

the evil which our author only proposes to cure, and by an utterly inadequate remedy. While we carefully guard whatever is womanly in our daughters, let them be trained to more of fibre and firmness. Educate them to self-denial, if pecuniary circumstances demand it, and not to self-indulgence. Accustom them to be of service in the household, to regard economy as praiseworthy and even heroic, and to add to all their other accomplishments a practical knowledge of work and the possession of some lucrative vocation or industry by which they can support themselves. Such girls, when portionless, will carry to their husbands dowries in themselves.

Then let the household of the young married pair be firmly ordered by themselves within the limit of their means. Do not demand that parents past middle life, themselves heavily taxed in almost all cases, shall retrench and economize that the young couple may keep step with the extravagant pace of their so-called superiors in society. Both must rigidly cut off superfluities, when they cannot be afforded,—cigars, the glass of ale, the opera, hot-house flowers, expensive dress, an extravagant style of entertaining—anything that taxes too heavily the family purse. Work for the accomplishment of a fashion that shall authoritatively utter the mandate, “It is not in good form for young people to live beyond their means.” It can be as readily accomplished as the one proposed, which would shoulder the extravagance of the husband and wife on the toiling, slaving father.

Thousands and thousands of American families are to-day living on this high plane, and reaping the peace and freedom which are the fruits of wise living. They are not “in the swim” of fashionable society, nor do they aspire to it. They do not ape the methods and manners of the shoddy people who flaunt their sudden wealth in vulgar display “before all Israel and under the sun.” But they have a firm hold on true enjoyment, and, by their self-mastery, their voluntary renunciations, and their habitual discipline of themselves, are slowly building a noble character—which is one of the true ends of life.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

MRS. ROLLINS:

ASSUMING a dowry waiting to be given, and that the question concerns merely the propriety of giving it, by all means let it be

given; assuming, too, that the meaning of "dowry" is literally an endowment—something given, irrespective of the time of giving. At twenty, whether married or unmarried, let a sum be settled upon Dorothy, into possession of which she shall enter at once, that, paying her own expenses, practising her own pet economies and favorite extravagances, she may learn the care of property, the value of money, the cost of living, the satisfaction of independence.

Unhappily, the question, like the daughter, is a very dependent one. It really is, "Shall our daughters have dowries at the expense of everything, or anything, else?"

Here there are lines to be drawn. If to save money for Dorothy's future means limiting her advantages at present, let the dowry go. This, not for the trite excuse that money can never take the place of education, culture, travel, or society; but because opportunity neglected in the critical years of her youth can never be supplied later with equal success. If you have \$2,000 for Dorothy, put \$1,000 in the bank and limit her expenditure in Europe to the other thousand; but if you have only \$1,000, send her to Europe. It is giving her expensive tastes? Better that than leave her with no tastes at all.

Mr. Messinger ignores the dependent phrase, and claims that at all hazards Dorothy must have a dowry. Practically, he also ignores the daughters, and, limiting "dowry" to its derived significance of a marriage portion, the question he answers is, rather, "Shall our brides have dowries?" He is sure that they should. The average income of young men, he tells us, is too small to support a wife without constant tendency to insanity and suicide from fear of not being able to pay her expenses much longer. The wife's possession of "a few hundreds," it is claimed, would relieve this pressure. It is here that Mr. Messinger ignores the daughter. The same custom that might insist on your receiving a dowry from your wife would insist on your providing a dowry for your daughter. Why is it difficult to save for a wife, but delightful to save for a daughter?—remembering, too, that a daughter would have expenses as well as dowry, while a wife without dowry has only expenses; remembering also that you can receive only one dowry with one wife, while you may have to provide dowries for several daughters.

But, it is said, the happiness, if not the income, of the

household will be increased. The father occupied in saving dowries will be secure from the suicide of him who is occupied in paying expenses. Why should it be a terrible tax to earn for your own household, and merely an inspiring delight to earn for another man's household, especially when that other man will not necessarily be one of your own choosing for either capacity or virtue, but merely any other gentleman to whom your daughter may decide she would like to have it handed over?

But the wife will be so happy with "a few hundreds" of her own! Is this certain? The wife with a few hundreds may begin to dream what she could do with a few more hundreds. Mr. Messinger is sure she would seldom be fretful or sad if she could have the sense of her own independence; but it is the woman, not the circumstances, that determines the amount of sadness in the household. She who would fret without money would fret with it; and you are putting into the hands of a fretful woman with a dowry that most terrible of weapons, the possible taunt, "Why should you complain? Am I any burden to you? Do I not pay all my own expenses?" "We must begin to save for Dorothy's dowry," would be one of the first things said after the advent of the new daughter, Mr. Messinger rightly remarks; adding that with this observation "the reign of ease and cheerfulness in that house would begin." This is one of those glittering generalities which can only be described as a statement; it is certainly not a fact; it is by no means an axiom; it is incapable of proof. The mother, undoubtedly willing to give up a new house that Dorothy may go to Europe, or a new bonnet that Dorothy may have one, might reasonably sigh over giving up things in order that the money may be put coldly in the bank for the sake of Dorothy's being sure, some twenty years hence, of having any bonnet at all. Add to this that the mother will have to see her other children constantly sacrificed to Dorothy's dowry, John losing his course in college or Philip his membership at the athletic club, and the peace of that household seems still problematical.

For we doubt the ability of John and Philip under these circumstances to rejoice as Mr. Messinger thinks they would, merely "in the increased cheerfulness of their parents." Neither would Dorothy herself be any happier. The young girl perfectly happy now with no dowry at all, because no young lady has a dowry, will be constantly mortified by having only a small dowry; like

the lady who did not wish for a carriage unless she could have a handsome one, because she was not too proud to walk, but was too proud to be seen in a shabby *coupé*. "Dependence upon a husband is a very different thing from dependence upon a father," Mr. Messinger claims: if it is, the balance is in favor of that upon a husband. No human being more truly earns the money she receives than does a wife. The lovelier the daughter the more gratefully will her father remember that even she is one of the beautiful things his wife has given him.

But it is such a comfort to have "solid savings" in the bank! Why, if you cannot touch them in any emergency whatever?—and the only security of a marriage dowry is that no one shall be able to touch it but Dorothy herself, and not Dorothy herself till she is married. That money in the bank, Dorothy, is to save your future husband from insanity, not your mother from overwork.

Mr. Messinger thinks \$100 in the bank better than \$100 put into life insurance. Life insurance is, he says, a sign of disease and anxiety in the community. But so is a physician. Would you refuse to employ a physician because his presence in the house would be a sign of disease? Life insurance is the physician, not the disease itself. If it is a good thing for a father with \$5,000 to hand it over to the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company that his married daughter may have an income from it of \$300 a year, it is surely a good thing for the father with only \$300 to pay that yearly for life insurance, in order that his daughter, married or unmarried, may eventually receive the \$5,000.

Nevertheless, we too approve of Dorothy's having a dowry; only let her receive it as a woman, not as a bride, and let it not be given at the sacrifice of her brother's advantages or of other better things for herself. This, not because the other better things are such as could never be taken away from her, but because they are such as, forfeited in youth, could never again be given to her.

ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FALSE INFERENCES.

"THE mill will not grind with the waters that have run past" is a homely but very apt statement of a fact that finds many an application in our life and thought. That what has been must be is a line of inference that is painfully common among men who are well aware that the new conditions under which new facts are observed must determine the inferences from them. Of course, when ignorance is to blame for false inferences, a clear statement of the conditions and the facts usually sets matters to rights; but when obtuseness, malice, or self-interest is involved, then correction is not easy, and much harm may be done. Neither is the case very different when the support of some pet theory is aided by the assumption that the results of ignorance in the past are law for the future.

Assumptions of this kind, singularly well attired as facts, are often paraded by skilful writers, and one may easily accept them as such, unless on guard against them. For instance, the saying that "competition is the life of trade" is dinned into our ears from boyhood. We become actuated by the idea that competition is the sole energizer of all progress. Indeed, the phrase "aggressive competition" is now often used. Successful competition implies, indeed, the greater or less lack of success, or failure, of the other contestant. I have no wish to encourage socialism, which is not based on facts, or to prevent the proper recognition of any one's gifts, character, and industry. But surely there must be some other way to let one's own candle shine than by trampling those of others under foot.

Christ taught with great earnestness that men should help each other, and all modern knowledge supports him in his teaching. The happiness, morality, and thrift of a community do not depend on or result from the success of a few, no matter how great that success may be, but from the success of all its members. A community cannot reach a true state of happiness until all its members are happy. No success, commercial, intellectual, or physical, can ever take the place of true happiness, and no man has true happiness who is not at peace with his fellow-men. This fact may be classed either under science or religion; it fits one as well as the other, and one need not be at a loss for any number of facts to support it under either head. It is one of the instances where the experience of the past is strengthened, instead of weakened, by the knowledge of the present.

No man can disconnect himself from his fellow-men without soon injuring both his own and his children's interests. Strong competition soon arrays him against his own flesh and blood. Proper combination and coöperation enable all to move forward together; and the interest of each is the interest of all. The human race is a family, and the world is its home. To live and to let live, to get the good out of life that there may be in it, to develop and enjoy the great possibilities of this life as a preparation for the happier life in the future, will in time become the objects of a community, instead of the bare support of life, which is now the goal of most men.

What has been done in the past is less important than the lesson that the past teaches when illumined with the light of the present. And still more important is what the knowledge of the present indicates to be best in the future.

Another favorite theme with men is the subserviency of women. It is not well to go too far back in the past for references in this matter, for in that case a time will be found when women were mere slaves, and, as they have been continually getting more independent, it might be inferred that in time they would become entirely so. Writers who maintain that full independence should not be allowed to women are, therefore, careful not to strike in too far back. Many women, finding that they are not always sure of being supported by men, and having as little fondness as men for poverty, misery, starvation, death, or enforced criminality, have in late years taken to supporting themselves. To the objection that they should make themselves competent to manage homes, they answer that desirable homes are not always offered to them to manage. If it is urged that they should marry, they retort that many of the men are not worth marrying, and that the right men will not be rejected. If it is said that women cannot fight, they return that they can at least pay taxes or hire men to fight, or that modern science is making war an impossibility in the near future. If it is suggested that independence makes a woman unwomanly and incapable of loving, they answer, "How do you know that?" If it is added that they also become unlovable, they point to a train of followers. If it is said that they should educate themselves to be mothers, they retort that they are as well fitted to be mothers as the men are to be fathers. After an extended and acrimonious discussion of this subject the male writers usually drop it; and it may be observed that for some time afterwards they exhibit great bitterness in their treatment of other subjects. On the other side, the female writers continue to elaborate many hundreds of pages in elucidation of their position. The fact is that this sauce for the goose also imparts a singular piquant flavor to the gander. Literary epicures are fond of the latter bird served with this sauce, and consider it a delicacy equal to the famous Roman dish of nightingales' tongues.

Some of the evolutionists reiterate in a most cold-blooded way that a certain number of unfortunates must be extinguished that the fittest may survive; by which is presumably meant that those best adapted to the then existing conditions may survive. They state further that, as this has always been the case in the past, it must always be the case in the future. This is the same as stating that the conditions will not change in the future. At this one naturally asks, "How do you know they will not?" Whereupon the anthropological evolutionist adroitly changes his base, and talks about survivals of tails, toes, and teeth until the seeker after truth begins to marvel greatly at his own ignorance of these things, and holds his peace, not daring to ask what seems to him a fair question—"Why must these unfortunates be produced at all, if the laws of evolution and heredity are so well and so fully understood? Why can we not apply the principles of evolution, if they are so important, and so gain the benefit of them, as we do in the case of other branches of science?"

Many other interesting instances of the peculiar inability of the average human mind to apply to the development in the future the development experienced and fully recognized in the past might be adduced. Thus, the criticisms of Wagner's music are much the same in effect as those that were made of Beethoven, and the criticisms of Beethoven but repeated the attacks that were made upon Gluck. Indeed, Plato denounced the degenerate character of the music that was "modern" in his day. The telegraph was ridiculed, the telephone was deemed visionary, and now the same stricture is made upon the phonograph. The possible dangers predicted from the use of illuminating gas are revamped and adapted by the gas-men to oppose the progress of electric lighting.

The arguments advanced against Bellamy's nationalism, when analyzed, are mostly assumptions that the state of affairs predicted by him cannot come to pass because some of the experience of the past does not indicate such a tendency, or they are attempts to prove that it ought not to come to pass. Yet no valid arguments seem to be presented to show that, in view of our past ignorance and present

and continually increasing scientific knowledge, the tendency of development will not be along the lines he indicates. The latter argument is the important one.

The gist of the matter is that for the first time in the history of the human race physical science has become the leading factor in its development. The reasons of observed phenomena and the connections between events are becoming more and more apparent, and men are naturally able to avoid many of the disasters of the past. Consequent upon the development of physical science follows the development of natural science, particularly of late in the field of biology, and as a result the successful treatment and prevention of diseases have made enormous strides. So it is around the whole circle of knowledge. It is not safe, and, indeed, it never has been, to attempt to state what cannot be done in the future, unless the conditions are thoroughly understood. It is futile to assert that the experience of the past must be law in the future, unless it can be shown also that the conditions or the environment has not changed. So far as one has facts to present, let them be received with respect and grateful appreciation; but when inferences are put forward, let them be recognized as such, and not as facts, and let them be subjected to the most searching investigation; for the conditions determine the correctness of the inference, and any alteration in them frequently invalidates entirely the inference: in the words of the good old saw, which is a philosophical truth, "circumstances alter cases."

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

II.

THE AMERICAN STUDENT.

EVERY sphere to-day tingles with fresh life. It is change, development, transformation, new birth. There is no present tense in America, so rapid are the currents of the time; it is only past and future. The American has no still-power. A mighty thrilling force permeates land and people, urging on to ever newer forms of action. Ours is the atmosphere of the counting-house, the mill, the machine-shop, the forge, the laboratory.

Beautiful is this activity, so varied, so continuous, so extensive, investing material forces with almost spiritual charm. There is nothing inert, sluggish, stagnant, dead. We are, perhaps, too near to realize its immensity or appreciate aright the vast, immeasurable expenditure of power with the magnificent attainment. Life, society, the arts, the sciences, the humanities, seem to be approaching their final stage, as the era of the tinder-box recedes and that of the electric motor is upon us. The shores of the New Atlantis are less distant with each advancing wave of knowledge. Is the finite over, and has the infinite begun?

People, and nations too, often have the defect of their virtues, and there are grave dangers even in this Augustan age of American progress. Activity carried too far is a disease. It is perpetual emotion which fills the hospital and the asylum. American stir, bustle, change, development, achievement, should arouse our pride, it is true, but our national safety dares not rest on Yankee notions alone. There must be pauses, there must be leisure, there must be gentler influences and a more restful atmosphere; in one word, there must be higher ideals than the money-standard, mortgages, exchange, and cheap clothing.

It is half a century and more since Emerson, in a memorable address, which is still charged with all of its olden inspiration, exhorted the American scholar to be true to himself, to stand upon his own feet and see with his own eyes, thus creating an American culture of which the universe need not be ashamed. Those ringing words have had their influence: the sting and the spur were timely. The prophet had come, but the nation was not ready to hear and obey—a common occurrence in the history of mankind. Emerson emphasized eloquently enough the scholar's function and the scholar's relation to the Republic. That to-day American scholarship is not broader and richer is largely because the American student fails to recognize his position and his opportunity. Does he ever soberly reflect upon the student's duty and purpose in every national crisis? Shall he be trader like the rest, or guardian of the ideal? Shall he be moulded by his surroundings or shall he mould them? Hammer or anvil—which shall it be?

In other lands the student is a national factor. He is the fourth estate—nay often the first estate. Those bands of eager young men, poorly-clad and half famished it may be, know how to strike the key-note of rebellion that will spread from city to city. It is student enthusiasm which can fan the flame of revolution. Discontent in their universities must be reckoned with by European potentates and impotentates. It was the student torch that burnt the fiercest in 1848. The students of Spain, Germany, France, Austria, Hungary, are more than mere schoolboys with parrot recitations and trite graduation exercises. They are part of the nation—a student soldiery, in fact. To-day in Russia the student power is feared by the government, or repressive legislation would not be enacted against the universities. But frantic absolutism can proscribe, exclude, persecute; the students will not be restrained even by threats of Siberia and the knout. They demand freedom; social and religious equality. They will stand upon their own feet—even if some, in their rampant agnosticism, prefer to stand upon their heads.

Here in sunny America the student has no need to be a revolutionist, but he must revolutionize himself and his methods. He must realize the student's opportunity and vindicate the American character at its ripest and best. We have hundreds of colleges in our land, large and small, old and new; colleges of solid stone and colleges of bric-à-brac foundations. But this seems to be the aim and end in view—to graduate students and confer degrees; not to vitalize the national life. In England the universities are represented in the public service and in Parliament. In America, unhappily, the bar-room, not the academy, has the strongest "pull" at elections.

The student's voice must be an effective factor in the work of American redemption. But to become effective the colleges themselves must coöperate and instil into their students other elements. The knowledge of the alphabet is one thing—the alphabet of knowledge quite another. More chairs are needed than those existing; and men, not money, are wanted to supply them. The classics, ancient and modern, philosophy, history, the science of numbers, and numbers of sciences are the usual subjects taught. How shall these be supplemented?

First, there should be a chair of enthusiasm. Without enthusiasm, all knowledge is poor dress indeed. It is the electric current which sets the student in sympathy with his work and makes him love labor until labor becomes love. Enthusiasm for learning for its own sake, for truth for truth's sake, for humanity for humanity's sake, transforms the student from the mere plodder and pedant to the master and teacher. Otherwise he may exclaim with Goethe:

"He has the fragments in his hand,
But missing is the spiritual band."

Mighty is the power of enthusiasm; resistless its forward sweep. It shall glorify instruction, redeem it from pedantry, and summon our thoughtful youth to noble effort and lofty ambitions. To the enthusiasm of one man, Gemistus Pletho, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Europe is indebted for the Renaissance, for the revival of learning in the middle ages. Enthusiasm is at the basis of every movement for human progress. It weaves a crown of glory around prophet and teacher; it enters in triumph the martyr's cell; it nerves the missionary in distant lands; it encourages the worker in every sphere. You can measure men and women by their enthusiasm. The greater and nobler they are the steadier burns the flame. Whatever their right hands find to do they do it with all their might, and forget toil, anxiety, self, in the quest after their Golden Grail. Blessed are the enthusiasms that preserve humanity from stagnation.

Next to a chair of enthusiasm, let the colleges provide a chair of reverence. It was a thought worthy of Goethe's genius to have special instruction in reverence in the ideal school of ethics which is described in "Wilhelm Meister." Critics often state that we Americans are deficient in reverence, and go so far as to hint at a certain national defect. We might possess more of that trait—the invisible dew which sweetens and sanctifies the intellect. "Let knowledge grow from more to more," sings the poet, "but more of reverence in us dwell." Reverence for what? For musty tomes, for dust-covered folios, for antiquated formulae, for the strut and

circumstance of pedantry? Nay, reverence for the humanity which learning transmits to us and makes intelligible in its wider scope. The student should be taught to read reverently the message of the past, whether traced on stone from Greece, written on parchment from Judea, or burnt into brick from Assyria. All history is sacred; there is no abrupt transition from the sacred to the profane. All learning is holy which broadens our vision and teaches the nearer duty. The past is but the story of men and women like ourselves, with their virtues and failings, their sorrows and triumphs. The present is but the same drama, in which we are the actors. Dress, dialect, dwelling, may have been different, but soul and heart were the same. They loved, hated, suffered, conquered—is it not our history, too, although we pride ourselves on sleeker bearing and more outward polish?

Let the student revere humanity in all its movements and phases, and be grateful for the vista of the past and prospect of the future. Whether history, philosophy, the languages, or natural science spur him on, let him be reverent in his task; with the scrupulousness of the Arab who will not permit a torn page of the Koran on the floor of his dwelling lest, perchance, Allah's name be profaned, but consigns all fragments to the flames. Moreover, there is not a human study, however fragmentary, which bears not a higher imprint and teaches not the diviner lesson. The true student has always been reverent. "Teach thy tongue to say, 'I do not know,'" exclaimed a rabbinical sage; and that has been the motto of the best and wisest. Knowledge has its limitations which must be recognized. Nature must have its veil before which the student must reverently stand and admit his helplessness. There lived once a famous philosopher who resolved to pierce the mystery of a rose's perfume. He took in hand a royal flower, all aglow with color and sweetness. Leaf by leaf, petal by petal, he plucked it apart; and found at last that he had the fragments, not the fragrance, the ashes, not the essence, of the rose.

The American student, then, must possess more than mere push and pluck—qualities which exist in the atmosphere and need no special cultivation. With the three-leaved clover as their badge, knowledge, reverence, and enthusiasm, our bands of students will form the true Prætorian Guard of the commonwealth. And if in the old-time legend one Roman's heroism saved the Eternal City, what might not the American students accomplish for our country if the ten thousand at our colleges be true to themselves and that higher culture which dignifies, beautifies, immortalizes? In an era of political greed and corruption, be it theirs resolutely to point to loftier aims and arcuse the public to loyalty to fundamental American principles—the gentle life, the reverent mood, the modest bearing, those quieter and sturdier qualities which give character and permanency to a nation.

Culture crystallized into patriotism—can there be a nobler aim for the student? Harvard's memorial to her heroic sons who fell in defence of the Union is full of suggestiveness. "They died for her," wrote Lowell in his thrilling "Commemoration Ode." What epitaph could be nobler? In olden days men made learning the objective point; to-day the true student will never despise learning, but will regard all culture as useless which fails to inspire him with reverence and enthusiasm, and spur him to battle for his country's sake and the dearest interests of humanity.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

III.

LUCK IN LITERATURE.

It is curious to note in the history of literature how many authors have owed their fame to a single thought, the chance inspiration of an hour. As there have been painters, not generally much above mediocrity, who have scaled the heights of excellence in a single picture, so there have been poets, ordinarily only second- or third-rate, whom a solitary ode or sonnet has lifted to the level of the masters of song. In some happy hour, some mental crisis, they have soared on the wings of fancy to a high heaven of invention; but when, flushed with confidence by their success, they have plumed themselves for another not less daring flight, and essayed to "dally with the sun and sport with the breeze," they have "fallen flat, and shamed their worshippers." There is hardly any cultivated man that has not at times brief

visitations of fancy and feeling, when his mind is illumined by "thoughts that transcend his wonted themes, and into glory peep"; and if he has a talent for versifying, it is not strange if, after a thousand failures, he chance to make one lucky hit, and embody his casual inspiration in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." He must be a wretched marksman who in a lifetime of trials has never once put a ball in "the bull's-eye."

Pomfret was a poet of this "single-speech-Hamilton" class. Though endowed with one of the most prosaic of minds, he yet chanced one day to blunder upon a lucky theme, and to treat it in a true poetic style. Dr. Johnson and Southey both declared that his poem entitled "The Choice" was the most popular one in the language; but, though it won boundless praise in the author's lifetime, who ever thought of wasting time on his other effusions? The life of his intellect seemed to run itself out in one effort. All the pure juice of the vine flowed into a single glass. The same was true of Lady Anne Barnard, who wrote the inimitable ballad, "Auld Robin Gray," but committed poetical suicide by a continuation; and, again, of an English nobleman, Lord Thurlow (not the great lawyer), who wrote early in this century a volume of verse, mainly doggerel, which was published with the title of "The Doge's Daughter," and ridiculed by *The Edinburgh Review*. Amidst the wilderness of nonsense there was a sonnet—addressed to a water-bird haunting a lake or stream in the winter—which was so beautiful as, in the opinion of an acute critic, to merit a place in every anthology of English sonnets.

Sir Egerton Brydges was another poet of this class. Had he written only his exquisite sonnet, "Echo and Silence," which Wordsworth and Southey so warmly praised, he might have been admired and envied, and all the world would have lamented that his muse was so chary of her favors. But his subsequent efforts dispelled the charm he had raised, and showed that he was indebted to fortune, not to a real poetic genius, for his success. Though he devoted all his life to the most patient courtship of the muse who had flirted with him for an hour, she never gave him another smile. Akin to this was the case of Wolfe, who produced an ode that provoked universal admiration, and was pronounced by Byron one of the finest in the language. Had the author of "The Burial of Sir John Moore" published only those memorable lines, which have been declaimed in schools and academies and parodied oftener than, possibly, any other English verse, who would have suspected his poverty of imagination? As it was, his succeeding failures betrayed the secret, and showed that his inspiration was fortuitous, and not the result of natural temperament—a flash of fancy only, not the steady blaze of genius. The first shot struck the very centre of the ring; the others could not be round.

Similar remarks might, perhaps, be made of Collins, not the author of the ode on "The Passions," but of "To-morrow," that "truly noble poem, . . . the climax of simple sublimity," as Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave, who places it in his "Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics," justly characterizes it. No one knows whether the author attempted to write any other songs, but if he did, they have passed, like his Christian name and all knowledge of his birthplace, into oblivion. Of Sir William Jones as a poet, what do we know beyond the lines beginning, "What constitutes a state?" or of Herbert Knowles, what more than that he is the author of the sombre lines written in the churchyard of Richmond, Yorkshire, beginning, "Methinks it is good to be here"? Joseph Blanco White was not a poet; yet, though English was to him an acquired tongue, he wrote a sonnet on "Night" which Coleridge does not hesitate to pronounce the grandest and most finely-conceived sonnet in our language—or, at least, as he afterwards adds, only rivalled in Milton and Wordsworth. To these transatlantic poets may be added our own American poet, Woodworth, who had but one moment of inspiration, when the idea of "The Old Oaken Bucket" flashed upon his mind; and Key, to whom the muse once lent her fire, when he electrified his countrymen with "The Star-Spangled Banner," but was ever afterward grudging of her fine frenzy. Some forty years ago a young law student in Maine contributed to a newspaper which I was publishing a beautiful poem entitled "The Life-Clock," which was republished for some years in many different journals, sometimes with the name of H. W. Longfellow, sometimes with "From the German,"

attached to it; but, though he wrote considerable other verse, there was hardly a spark of inspiration in it all.

We have in this country scores of would-be poets who have each produced one or two creditable pieces which are to their other productions like *Falstaff's* "half-penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." What can be more cruel than for the friends of these rhymers to goad them on to further effort, after it has become evident that

"Calliope jamais daigne leur parler,
Et Pégase pour eux refuse de voler"?

Because, in a lucky moment, one has dashed off a few verses whose words are steeped in Castalian dews and "colored like the golden exhalations of the dawn," does it follow that he has "the vision and faculty divine" of the inspired bard? Who knows that he has the strength of wing for a series of successful flights—that he has not exhausted himself by his happy efforts? Carlyle says that booksellers would get more for their money if they got less—that is, if they paid for quality instead of for quantity. In like manner, it is better for a poet's fame to have produced a few good verses than a thousand mediocre ones; better one brief poem, shorn of all excrescences and condensed into power, than a myriad of diffuse ones, which are only "tolerable," and therefore "not to be endured."

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

IV.

JOURNALISM IN JAIL.

It was late on Thanksgiving eve in 1883 that the first copy of *The Summary* was struck from the press of the New York State Reformatory at Elmira. Previous to the publication of *The Summary* there had been unsatisfactory attempts in many places to establish a prison newspaper—a newspaper which should be edited and published exclusively by prisoners, which should echo the spirit of its convict founders, and pursue a course to be dictated, not by official pleasure or policy, but by the good sense and judgment of its editor. For many reasons these efforts had either never "grasped the skirt of circumstance" or had died a natural death from inanition. When Mr. Z. R. Brockway, the general superintendent of the reformatory, made known his wish that a newspaper be started in the prison, there was only one man in the place who was deemed capable of undertaking the task. He was a young burglar, who had graduated from Oxford University in England, and had had a little literary and journalistic experience in New York.

The printing office of the reformatory contained a few fonts of the more common type, and the only printing-press in the institution was a little foot machine, on which about 200 or 300 copies of one 8 × 14-inch page could be run off in an hour. This machine had done service for several years in the reformatory for rough job work, and when the editor of *The Summary* looked it over for the first time his heart failed him, for the press was pretty well battered, and it had a creaking, disjointed movement that augured ill for the success of the enterprise. The prison engineer, however, patched it up as well as he could. There were two or three type-setters in the institution who had had a very limited experience in small job offices. It was understood that the projected newspaper should cost the State only a merely nominal sum, and all of the material and work was to be found in the office.

After a period of preparation extending over two or three weeks, the first complete copy of *The Summary* was put in form, and the work of running off began. The project was kept a close secret, so that the distribution of the first edition of *The Summary* caused a genuine sensation. The general plan of the paper was rather ambitious: it embraced a *résumé* of select foreign and domestic news, selections from choice contemporary literature, a page of editorial opinions on home matters, and a page or more of such prison news as was not of a distinctly criminal or vicious character. About 500 copies comprised the first edition, and nearly all of these were distributed among the prisoners.

A few copies, however, managed to get into the hands of outsiders, and the result was more or less notoriety for *The Summary* and its editor. The country press in the vicinity of Elmira "boomed" the undertaking, and urgent requests for infor-

mation concerning the price of subscription, etc., poured in upon the editor. Thus, although it had been intended to confine the circulation of *The Summary* to the prisoners of the reformatory, the paper began to go out among people whose curiosity or sympathy had been aroused, and many editors who had heard of the innovation generously offered exchange courtesies.

The editor of *The Summary* at this time was also secretary of the prison schools; he enjoyed very few more privileges than were granted to any other prisoner; hence most of his work was done late at night in his cell. The printers, too, were busy all day at their regular tasks, and could find time only at uncertain intervals to work on the paper. Moreover, the little rickety press had a habit of going to pieces on critical occasions. At such times, when the damage was too great for the editorial hand to repair, the kind offices of the daily newspapers of Elmira were sought. *The Summary* never missed an issue, but went on in steady progress till its size was increased and it was published at more frequent intervals. It is now an eight-page weekly paper. It devotes an entire page to extracts on topics of the time, another to notes of sociological importance, another to "Contemporary History," another to "Salmagundi"; there is also a page giving a *résumé* of the week's news; and the editor reserves a page for the expression of his own opinions. The home news occupies two pages.

It is noteworthy that very little assistance has been rendered by the prisoners in the way of contributions to *The Summary*. A "Contributors' Page" was established in the early days, and maintained for two or three years; but the editor was obliged to write nearly all the "contributed articles." The scarcity of suitable editors among the prisoners has always been discouraging. I retained the editorial management of the paper for three or four years, and subsequently two prisoners successively had editorial control. A position in Elmira was offered me not long after I left the reformatory to go to New York, and again, by special request, I took charge of *The Summary* on a salary, and held it for some time. Mr. Brockway prefers not to exercise any dictatorial function in the management, and, while he writes an occasional article, he has never been editor of the paper.

The name of *The Summary* was adopted with a distinct purpose. It was originally intended that the paper should be a summary of the best news of the day; and so far as the treatment of outside matters is concerned *The Summary* more than vindicates its pretensions. Many prominent journalists and authors have kindly expressed their appreciation of what they were pleased to call the "admirable condensation" of *The Summary* and the "dignified and polished tone" of its editorial utterances. It has been necessary, however, to depart to some extent from the original plan so far as the treatment of home matters is concerned. By far the larger part of prison life is routine, and the sensational incidents that occur are of necessity carefully suppressed, so that one of the most serious problems that has always confronted the editor is the difficulty of securing eligible home news. Many a time I have left my desk and stolen out into the prison yard to obtain, if possible, some little item that might interest my readers. I have been almost glad when a prisoner has been injured by machinery or an accident to a belt or a pulley has occurred in one of the shops. A large fire once in the prison factories was a god-send.

It was not always pleasant work, however. There were the inexorable two columns to fill with home news, and "padding" was out of the question. My system was to have two or three men in each department of the institution keep an eye out for news. Prisoners are not permitted to talk to other prisoners, and this added to the difficulty. Whenever the Board of Managers met, I was always sure of a "three-stick story" at least. The physician also supplied me with an occasional interesting item, and I worked the mine of the schools to the last vein. It was necessary, however, to guard carefully against any appearance of triviality or frivolity in the news columns. At one time I secured the favor of the superintendents of various departments, and from them obtained many interesting "stories."

One man did all the work. He prepared and edited the news and the newspaper and magazine selections, wrote the editorials, read proof, and "made up" the forms. After a while the office was enlarged, a Hoe steam press was purchased,

and the typographical facilities were improved. We had three New York daily newspapers and a considerable number of weekly exchanges, and we borrowed the magazines. We thought at one time during the blizzard in the spring of 1888 that we should have to miss an issue, but we secured communication with the outside world in time.

The editorial writing gave us a little trouble. For a long period we indulged in moral homilies, but the necessities of weekly journalism and the obligations which an extended constituency imposed were recognized and met, and we came after a time to discuss secular matters with freedom and candor. We frequently had occasion to criticise public men, and we tried hard not to discriminate between Trojan and Tyrian. Once I wrote a severe criticism of something the Rev. R. Heber Newton had said, and he promptly sent to me a handsome letter of thanks. There was always a well-defined spirit of friendly rivalry between *The Summary* and the prison papers that followed us, and this formed the subject of many an editorial leader. We usually took care, however, to discuss questions of general interest, and the only time we transgressed the bounds of courtesy was in a controversy with the editor of the *Ohio School Journal*, a paper published at the Ohio Reform School. Then we became almost vituperative, but the discussion ended amicably.

Among its home readers *The Summary* has become a moral and intellectual censor of more or less power. It shapes the public sentiment of the institution on important questions, since it receives the exclusive news and makes its interpretation with a certain *ex-cathedra* definiteness. It has helped to raise the moral and intellectual standard of the place, and Mr. Brockway values it highly as an educational agent. It serves to maintain among the prisoners that sympathetic interest in outside matters which a convict nearly always loses, and which is one of the most horrible results of imprisonment; and it forms, also, an important tie between the felon in the cell and the spirit of righteousness that moves in free human society.

After the fame of *The Summary* spread abroad, several newspapers were started in prisons, and at present there are a number of such journals.

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